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SHALL IMMIGRATION BE SUSPENDED?

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OPPORTUNITIES come to nations as well as to individuals, and they must not be neglected. A republic especially should be prompt to seize its opportunity; for, while a monarchy or despotism can act on the impulse of one ruler or a few rulers, many minds must concur to put a republic in motion. When the people, or their representatives in the legislature, are ready, there should be no delay or hesitation, or the opportunity may past.

To the United States there is now offered an opportunity so make a wise initial movement towards the restriction of immigration, some of whose existing evils an almost universal feeling demands should be immediately checked. A concurrence of imperative reasons favors the suspension of all immigration for the year 1893, during which period suitable conditions for its resumption may be fixed and promulgated.

What are the reasons for such suspension, and what are the objections and the answers thereto?

I.

There is already a virtual suspension which may be easily prolonged.

The cholera of 1892 has almost stopped immigration. It will not be resumed in full proportions before the spring of 1893. This cessation should be prolonged by law until new conditions

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are matured under which immigration for settlement in the United States may be resumed. The interest and anxiety manifested during the last few years by the American people concerning the enormous inroads of inferior immigrants have been supplemented by the outbreak of cholera in Europe, by its presence in the harbor of New York, and its advent into the city itself. The evil was limited and the danger averted, only by the virtual suppression of immigration from certain countries. It will be the highest wisdom to take advantage of this fortuitous circumstance to continue the suspension until a new policy can be adopted by the United States covering the whole subject of immigration into its territory.

II.

The cholera again threatens us, and can only be averted by the suspension of immigration.

Not only will it be wise on general grounds to take advantage of the suspension of immigration which the cholera of 1892 has caused, to continue the same for 1893, but there is no other safe method of averting an invasion of cholera in the coming year. The most eminent authorities assert that the suspension of all immigration is the best way to keep out the cholera. Many believe that it is the only reasonably sure method.

It is not believed that the cholera germs are now here, although it is possible that they are. There will be another outbreak of cholera in Europe; indeed it has already appeared there. If it comes to this country, it will be brought with the immigrants in the steerages of the steamships. There is no serious danger from cabin passengers coming as visitors.

If there is no suspension of immigration it will be indispensable to secure the adoption and observance of the most rigid precautions and rules in the European ports, for a period before the sailings of emigrant vessels, and the maintenance of strict regulations during the voyages. For this strictness we must depend upon foreign officials and the officers of the steamship companies and not upon ourselves. No one believes that we can prescribe and enforce upon foreign governments and the steamship officers such measures as will keep the cholera from coming here. It will sail into our ports and overtax all the resources of our quarantine and health authorities, and will alarm and distress our

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whole people, even if it does not widely break into our borders and ravage our homes. If we allow immigration we are largely at the mercy of foreigners. If we suspend it our lives are in our own hands. In suspension alone is there any certainty of safety.

III.

Protection to the World's Fair requires the suspension.

The Columbian Exposition at Chicago can only be protected from cholera, and made a success so far as foreign visitors are concerned, by the proposed suspension of immigration. We are inviting, and we very much desire, European visitors to the World's Fair. They will not come in the same steamships with swarms of immigrants, nor will they come even in steamships bringing no steerage passengers if they are to encounter the immigrants upon the docks of the steamship companies. Two currents, one of cabin passengers coming as visitors, and one of immigrants, will not cross the ocean side by side. One or the other will stop, and that one should be the current of immigrants.

It is certain that there is to be some cholera in Europe. If there is also to be cholera in the United States, Europeans will not come here. If, however, it can be made tolerably certain, as it can, by the suspension of immigration, that there will be no cholera in the United States, foreigners will come here in large numbers. It will be the safest place for them to visit, indeed it will be the only place in the world which they can visit where they will be reasonably sure to avoid cholera.

The success of the World's Fair may be possible even without many foreign visitors. But such success will not be possible with any considerable amount of cholera in the United States. With cholera existing anywhere in this country Chicago will be the last place to which Americans will go. They will stay at home or flee to the mountains; they will not go to the city of Chicago. The case seems too clear for argument. It is an absolutely imperative necessity for the welfare of the Columbian Exposition, either as a resort for Americans alone or for Americans and foreigners as well, that European immigration shall be suspended. It is unfortunate for the Exposition that it is to be held during the second of a series of cholera years, but the misfortune exists. The failure of the Fair can be averted by simply asking immigrants who wish to come for settlement to delay their departure for one year.

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IV.

A year's suspension is necessary for the preparation of permanent restrictive measures.

The suspension of all immigration for one year will give the much needed time for the discussion and preparation of suitable permanent measures of restriction, which can be announced as conditions of the resumption of immigration. There is an almost universal feeling in favor of greater restrictions than the law now imposes, but there is no unanimity of opinion as to what the new restrictive measures should be.

We may go on for years under the present laws without coming to an agreement which will take the shape of new laws of Congress. We need to bring the subject to a head by taking advantage of the temporary suspension of immigration, made necessary by existing circumstances. All persons now discussing the subject of further measures of restriction can agree to a temporary suspension of immigration, although they differ as to what new methods of restriction should be permanently adopted—the sentiment varying from the advocacy of a system almost amounting to the exclusion of new settlers, to plans which would very little, if at all, increase the stringency of the present laws.

It is highly advisable to bring the debate to a close, and to determine our fixed policy as to immigration. The debate will end, and decision will be reached, if the one year's suspension can be preliminarily agreed upon.

V.

No serious injustice will be done to persons intending to emigrate.

The principal objection that will be made to the proposed one year's suspension is that it will work an injustice to persons desiring to emigrate to the United States in the year 1893, especially to those who wish to come to join families already here. The hardship diminishes, however, upon thoughtful consideration. It is not a severe repulse to ask persons in other countries who desire to come to America to make homes here, but who have no families now here whom they wish to join, to wait one year before coming, in view of the apprehensions about cholera. It is a greater hardship to prevent persons from coming during the year to join families now here, but this, which would be the

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severest result, is not unreasonable when compared with the advantages to be secured by the suspension.

It is to be borne in mind that, while persons cannot come during the suspension for the purpose of settlement, they may come as visitors, under the obligation to return, which may be enforced according to the judgment of the United States authorities.

VI.

The steamship companies will not be injured.

It has been assumed that the suspension of immigration will be strenuously opposed by the steamship companies engaged in transporting passengers across the Atlantic. This can hardly be possible, if the steamship managers will carefully consider the situation. If they continue to bring immigrants during 1893 very onerous conditions will certainly be imposed, if the United States can establish them. Heavy expenses abroad must be incurred by the companies before the immigrants start, and expensive precautions kept up on the voyage over. Upon the arrival, if there is any suspicious sickness on board, will happen the inevitable quarantine, which destroys all profits from the voyage, besides absorbing much other money of the companies. Even in the absence of any compulsory statute, it will be for the real interest of the steamship companies to discontinue carrying immigrant passengers during the coming year, especially when it is considered that it is almost certain that if immigrants come cabin passengers will not come. The ruin of the cabin-passenger business will be poorly compensated for by the uncertain profits to be sought from immigrant passengers.

VII.

European immigrants will not come through Canada.

It is said that if immigration by water directly through United States ports is prohibited, the immigrants will come through Canada. This objection can be dismissed as not serious. A prohibition of immigration by a law making it unlawful for an immigrant to come, and subjecting him, if he does come, to expulsion within one year, and also imposing penalties upon persons bringing or aiding in bringing unlawful immigrants, will almost enforce itself. Any evasion of the law will be too difficult to be profitable. It will require two transactions: first, the purchase

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of a ticket and the taking of a voyage from Europe to Canada; next, the purchase of a ticket and the transit across the border into the United States. These two transactions will not be undertaken in order to avoid one year's delay in getting into the United States, particularly as the risk is incurred of arrest, expulsion, and a penalty upon all aiders and abettors in the migration who may come within the reach of our laws.

Practically, the exclusion will be made operative by placing United States inspectors upon the docks of the steamships which come into Halifax, Quebec, and Montreal, who, with Canadian inspectors, will examine the arriving passengers, allowing visitors to go but detaining immigrants. The Canadian authorities, to avoid rigid inspections of railroad trains crossing our borders, will gladly allow and facilitate such inspections at the seaports.

VIII.

What should be the conditions of the resumption of immigration after suspension?

With such a concurrence of reasons in favor of one year's suspension of immigration, and such a freedom from sound objections thereto, the suspension ought to be enacted into a law, even if the resumption of immigration takes place at the end of the year without any restrictions except those now imposed by law. But it is due to frankness, it being stated that it is intended to allow resumption only under new conditions, that some reference should be made to the new conditions most advocated.

Residence, and that citizenship which follows residence, in the United States are so valuable that it is highly reasonable that persons or families in European countries who intend coming here to make new homes, should satisfy the United States consul nearest to the home of their birth that they are not excluded from coming by any law, and due weight should be given to the consul's certificate, produced on the arrival in the United States. Nearly all plans for the restriction of immigration have embodied a system of investigation on the other side of the ocean before the departure of the immigrant. The nearer this inspection is to the home of the person intending emigration the better. His facilities for proof are most available there, and if he cannot come it is not wise that he should start.

A prominent objection to the consular certificates is, that the

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requirement of them will prevent emigrants from getting away whom their own governments wish to detain for military purposes, especially the Germans, who are among our best immigrants. This objection raises the question whether the United States really wishes to take as its citizens, away from foreign countries, any citizens of the latter whom their governments are unwilling to allow to depart. The soundest answer is the negative.

The expediency of requiring an educational and a property qualification, as conditions of the admission of immigrants, is being widely considered by American thinkers and writers. Do we wish to receive single persons who cannot read or write their own language, or families, the members of which cannot read or write their own language? Do we wish to take penniless persons or families, or shall we require that they have moderate means of subsistence for a reasonable period after landing? The wise answer to these questions would lead to the requirement of an educational and a property qualification.

There has been much argument in favor of a large head tax, but this country will hardly make the question of admission or rejection of a foreigner depend upon his ability to pay a certain amount of money into its treasury. We do not wish to get an income from immigrants beyond the expenses of administering the immigration laws. Whatever money they have, we wish them to keep and use while settling themselves in their new world.

The writer of this article believes the system of consular inspections and certificates, and the requirement of a moderate educational and property qualification, accompanied by reasonable provisions for an honest administration of the naturalization laws, will be sufficient guards for some time to come against the evils most to be apprehended from foreign immigration into this country. The Fifty-third Congress ought to be able to reach a speedy and satisfactory decision on all these questions.

It is not the purpose of this paper to recite the arguments for restricting immigration. They are based largely upon evils which have been made apparent by the vast increase, within recent years, of degraded immigrants from Italy, Turkey, Hungary, Poland and Russia proper. The statistics alone tell the story:

Among the alien passengers over sixteen years of age who landed at the port of New York from February 1 to October 31, 1892, inclusive, the number of illiterates in one hundred persons was: From England, 10; Ireland, 8; Wales, 6; Scotland, 1½; France, 2; Germany, 2; Switzerland, 1; and from Denmark, Norway and

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Sweden, each less than 1 ; while the number in one hundred from Russia proper was 20 ; Poland, 56 ; Hungary, 28 ; Armenia, 44 ; and from Italy, 66.

The number of immigrants in 1870 was: From Italy, 2,891 ; Hungary, none ; Poland, 223 ; Russia proper, 907—making 4,021 ; while for 1890 there came from Italy, 51,799 ; Hungary, 5,473 ; Poland, 11,073 ; and from Russia proper, 35,147—making 101,492.

The immigration in 1892 from January 1 to October 31 was : From Italy, 51,842 ; Hungary, 31,220 ; Poland, 26,600 ; and from Russia proper, 51,606—making 161,268 for the ten months, notwithstanding immigration was practically suspended by the cholera quarantine during September and October.

These evils are crying and intolerable. We cannot safely undertake the assimilation of the ignorant and debased human beings who are tending towards us from such sources.

No indiscriminate opposition to the admission of all foreigners of any particular races (except the Asiatic) is contemplated by any one. Our present foreign-born citizens of European extraction, not including these importations of recent years, are among the best of Americans. They ought to be willing, they are willing, to join in excluding the classes of immigrants against whom the reluctance of all true Americans is now being expressed. The exclusion of these is required for the maintenance of a high order of American civilization, and, moreover, in the interest of the intelligent labor of the wage-workers of the continent. The United States is a country of high wages and it is to be hoped, for the sake of the prosperity and character of its legal voters, that it will long remain a republic of high wages. It cannot so remain unless the flood of undesirable immigrants who have been recently swarming to our doors is courageously driven back.

The labor organizations of the country, without exception, ask for more restrictive immigration laws. Those labor organizations contributed in a large degree to bring about the result of the recent Presidential election. They do not ask that further immigration of foreigners to the United States to become citizens shall be absolutely prohibited for any considerable period, nor do they ask anything justly obnoxious to the clause in the platform upon which the President-elect was nominated, but they do demand the suspension of immigration for one year, and the adoption during that year of such reasonable new restrictions, to be enforced after the year's expiration, as will measurably, if not completely, protect the labor and the citizenship of America from the degradation with which recent incursions of persons, unfitted for citizenship, have been threatening our people.

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THE LIMITS OF LEGITIMATE RELIGIOUS DISCUSSION.

BY THE RIGHT REV. LEIGHTON COLEMAN, S. T. D., LL. D.,
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THERE is a discussion styled religious that is not legitimate. It is such as calls into question the fundamental principles of religion. Any discussion which involves disrespect to them transcends its proper bounds.

Of course, there must be among the disputants, or on the part of those who would pass judgment upon the legitimacy of such discussions, an agreement as to what is meant by the term Religion.

My own view of the subject shall be confined to the United States. The inquiry will at once arise: "Is there here any form of religion which may be called national, and which its adherents may on that account consider entitled, so far as its fundamental principles are concerned, to limitation of debate?"

Without hesitation, I answer "Yes." From the very beginning of its colonization, this country has distinctly recognized Christianity as its religion. It is just as easy to prove its formal and constant acknowledgment in the beginning as it is to prove that there is no such formal acknowledgment in our present national constitution. Yet this very lack of formal acknowledgment, when considered in connection with the fact that Congress is prohibited from making any law respecting an establishment of religion, can be fairly considered as testifying not only to the existence, but, also, to the supremacy of Christianity: for, as one of the things belonging to God, Cæsar is not to meddle with it. The federal constitution, taken together with "the laws in pursuance thereof," may be said to be founded not only upon, but in,

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Christianity—the existence of which is throughout pre-supposed. The appointment of chaplains for both army and navy and their payment out of the common funds are facts which are not to be overlooked in the consideration of this same point.

In further support of the contention that Christianity is the national religion of America I would not only appeal—as one can do very confidently—to the common sentiment and practice of all classes, but also to the well-weighed utterances of the judiciary, from the first days of our political independence.

It may suffice to adduce one or two authorities on this point. Chancellor Kent, of New York, delivered, in 1811, the following opinion: "The people of this State, in common with the people of this country, profess the general doctrines of Christianity as their faith and practice." True, he went on to say, "The Constitution has discarded religious establishments," but what then? "It does not forbid judicial cognizance of those offences against religion and morality which have no reference to any such establishment, or to any particular form of government, but are punishable because they strike at the root of moral obligation and weaken the security of social ties." He added: "To construe it as breaking down the common-law barriers against licentious, wanton and impious attacks upon Christianity itself, would be an enormous perversion of its meaning."*

The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania subsequently ruled that "even if Christianity were not a part of the law of the land, it is the popular religion of the country; an insult to which would be indictable as tending to disturb the public peace"; adding that "no society can tolerate a wilful and despiteful attempt to subvert religion."† This same court annulled a will made in favor of a society of so-called atheists, on the ground that the State law recognized none but literary, charitable and religious societies.

So, then, I repeat that a discussion which would include within its limits an attack upon the fundamental principles of Christianity is, so far as that attack is concerned, distinctly illegitimate.

We recognize this dogma when applied to civil affairs. When a citizen essays to bring into disrepute the fundamental principles of that form of government under which he is living, he is ac-

* 8 Johns, 290.
† 11 Serg. & R., 394.

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counted a traitor, and is liable to arrest and punishment. It is within the remembrance of many how often and how severely such offences were treated during the period of our Civil War. And the same rigor is observed in some European countries to-day.

Furthermore, in some of the things as to whose discussion there is a limit affixed by the State, there is much that does not approve itself to our reason, and much more, perchance, that is not to our liking. But, for all that, the charge and danger of treason remain the same.

Is it not much more treasonable to bring into contempt the institutions and tenets of Christianity? And especially so, since it is a time of war? For in the conflict which Christianity is waging there is no discharge. It will last as long as the world in which we live. Therefore it is that a perpetual limit must be placed to the questioning or denial, by way of discussion, of such things as are essential to Christianity.

Hardly anything is more injurious to the State than a lack of confidence between man and man. It threatens the disruption of the very bonds of society. And this is the risk that is run in allowing religious discussions to go on indefinitely and wantonly, robbing men of their faith in God and Christ, and so, in time, of their faith in one another, for faith in man has its highest development among those who believe in God.

It may now be time to give some indication of what is here meant by the fundamental principles of Christianity. None is more distinctly so than a belief in the personality of its founder, Jesus Christ. And with this belief in His personality is the equally fundamental belief in Him as both God and Man.

But few persons question the fact of His existence. More refuse to acknowledge His Divinity. And herein lies a transgression of the limits of legitimate religious discussion. Indeed, one who denies the Divinity of Christ takes himself out of religious discussion altogether—at least so far as this country is concerned. He robs Christianity of that which primarily makes it *the* religion of the world, and reduces it simply to a system of wilful deceit and shameless wickedness. For if knowing, or even suspecting, that Christ was only human, His disciples claim that He is Divine, and because of His Divinity insist upon certain things as necessary for membership in Him, they surely are most irre-

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ligious, and their creed can have no place in the discussions of those who would be accounted even moral men.

But, believing as they do, and by faith seeing * that Christ is God, and resting upon this cardinal article all the other articles of their faith, it is not difficult to understand how aggrieved they feel whensoever His Divinity is disputed, and, by necessary inference, if not by direct assertion, His goodness is denied. Such an assault is beyond the pale of legitimate discussion.

I would not condescend to enter into a debate with one who should wish to discuss the character of my mother—that is, as to her goodness. I certainly would draw the limit there.

Shall I be compelled to discuss religious matters with one who does not recognize Christ's Divinity? For it is because we know that He is more than human, and therefore perfect and beyond any human criticism, that we feel that any assault upon His character is out of place in a land that is at least professedly Christian.

It is on this account that one cannot but regret the recent appearance in this REVIEW of an article which, while professing to be a review of the life and works of a French author, lately deceased, was really an arraignment of Christianity, and a wanton attack not only upon Christ's claim to Divinity, but also upon His goodness of character.

Such an article certainly transgresses those bounds of religious discussion which I have ventured to lay down; and this not only because of assailing the fundamental principles of Christianity, but, further, because of its vain repetition of what has been so many times answered with such unquestionable reasonableness. Really the disciples of Christ's religion have good grounds for insisting that its verity should not be so frequently impugned with stale, worn-out, and a hundred-times-answered statements and arguments. May they not, with good grace, insist upon some limitations in this respect?

Such repetitions do but little credit to those intellectual gifts to whose exercise the impossibility of accepting Christianity is attributed. It is Locke, I think, that suggests the folly of extinguishing reason in order to exalt faith, as though a man would put out his eyes in order to see better with a telescope. Is not the converse of this equally true? Of what use are the eyes without the telescope, except to see dimly and uncertainly?

* Hebrews xi., 1.

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May we not say that in the truths of Christianity we have reason in its highest form? Without them, indeed, reason oft-times becomes only another name for will, and is set against conscience. As has been said by one of old: "We must have a reason for that which we believe above reason." Men will think and speak of the fellowship of gifted intellects, putting the mind in place of character. And then, having dethroned moral excellence, they begin to think all religions alike—giving but little value to any of them. They become, as it were, color-blind. It is not then difficult, having undervalued religion, to go on and despise it.

Thus our reasoning powers when alone, without the aid of the Spirit of God, are likely—nay, one may say certain—to become most weak and untrustworthy in dealing with moral and religious truth.

Christians acknowledge, readily enough, that there are mysteries beyond, though not contradictory to, our reason. Our opponents deny this, and insist upon understanding all things. And, when they come to such as pass their comprehension, these are rejected as untrue. They would substitute for Christianity a human system or theory.

Lotze, in his "Microcosmus," fairly describes the relation of reason to mysteries when he says: "If reason is not of itself capable of finding the highest truth, but on the contrary stands in need of a revelation, still, reason must be able to understand the revealed truth, at least so far as to recognize in it the satisfying and convincing conclusion of those upward-soaring trains of thought which reason itself began, led by its own needs, but was not able to bring to an end."*

Christianity, therefore, is the religion of reason, and of reason in its strength and purity. It is the answer to the soul's deepest and truest wants; and of its common wants. Thus, as related to all men, it is a religion of history. It is founded on facts. The first Adam was no myth. Neither is the second Adam an abstract idea. Christ is—not only was, but *is*—a person.

And it is as being a person of perfection, the Incarnate Son of God Himself, that we feel that in assaulting Christianity *He* is assaulted, and in assaulting *Him* all virtue and all grace are likewise assaulted, and that in assaulting them the very foundations

* II., p. 660.

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of our life are liable to be overthrown. This sensitiveness to any attack upon our blessed Lord is shared in common by all who are really entitled to the name of Christian; for, however true it is (and it is one of the saddest of all truths) that many divisions exist among Christians, yet it is equally true that to all alike the doctrine of Christ's Divinity and of man's salvation through His Atonement is too dear to allow it to be questioned by any one. Again, I say, there must be limits set to such assaults.

And these limits I would set not only as regards the discussion of His nature and His character, but also as regards the discussion of His commandments. Let me illustrate my meaning here by reference to the two great Sacraments of the Christian religion, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord. These were unquestionably ordained by Christ Himself. And they are accounted "as generally necessary to salvation." Yet how largely are they ignored by people living in these United States. And how flippantly, oftentimes, is the question of their obligation discussed! The question, I submit, is beyond the legitimate limits of a religious discussion. It is treasonable to the King of kings, and thus becomes in itself irreligious.

I am quite prepared to admit that there are some points in regard to the sacraments which may be legitimately discussed, *e. g.*, the *mode* of Baptism. But as to their necessity, there is no room for debate. That question has been settled, and whoever, by argument or by practice, shows disrespect to such a fundamental principle of the Kingdom puts himself out of court, and is, I repeat it, guilty of treason. It is not an open question. In fact, it has never been anything else but a closed question, except as those who are rebellious have dared to debate it.

And what makes this impiety all the more deplorable is that it belongs in many instances to those who pride themselves upon their morality, and who are acknowledged by others as moral men, but who, in my judgment, are very far from deserving a place in such a category. For what is morality? Primarily it means living according to custom or rule. Thence it comes to mean living according to the law of right and wrong. And since Christianity, above all other systems of principles, informs man as to his duty, its standard must needs be his guide if he be sincerely determined to fulfil his duty. Customs exist so long as public opinion allows them to exist. Now, the public opinion of

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this country is Christian opinion. Therefore, our national morality in its highest form is virtually but another name for Christianity. The morality of a heathen country is quite different from the morality of a Christian country. An American who proposes to be governed by what he terms moral principles must be prepared to acknowledge the claims of Christ's religion. In other words, a man who is not a Christian cannot be accounted a moral man.

I know how liable one is to be misunderstood who sets up such a strong claim for Christianity, but in setting up a weaker claim one is thereby lowering the standard of morality. For while it is true that by our unduly magnifying morality we belittle Christianity, it is equally true that in belittling Christianity we degrade morality.

We are much too lenient as to the immorality of so-called moral men; of men who while they select certain precepts for their obedience treat with disdain other precepts just as binding upon their consciences. A really Christian man is always a moral man; but he who is only what the world calls moral may be very far from being a Christian man. A really Christian man, I say, for one is well aware how oftentimes this word Christian is claimed by and allowed to persons who do not accept in its integrity—one might say in its simplest form of meaning—the Catholic doctrine of the Divine Sonship, a Sonship not enjoyed in common by all men, but exclusively by Christ Himself.

There is a vagueness in the belief of some so-called Christian people as to this absolute equality of Christ with God, in His Divine nature, which seems to make the line of distinction between them and others very slight. Their character and their life are high and commendable in many respects, but when their belief in Christ is pressed to its real elements it is found to be far short of that which has ever been maintained by the real confessors of the Church. In other words, it is only a belief in Him as human; human on a higher plane, it may be, than any other being, but still beneath the plane of God Himself.

It is thus that I find myself immovably opposed to considering any one worthy of the name of Christian who fails to accept the terms of fellowship in Him which He Himself unequivocally lays down. Can it be otherwise than degrading to Him to allow the name Christian to such as reject the very fundamental prin-

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ciples of the Master, after whom they profess to call themselves? As well might one call himself a Free Mason who disbelieved in the principles of that ancient order, or reckon himself a disciple of Copernicus who rejected the theory associated with that name.

One other apparent digression. I have spoken of people called moral by the world. Here again I would recognize their claim to respect on account of their freedom from transgressing the laws of man and, it may be, some of the laws of God. But inasmuch as in regard to other laws of God (*e. g.*, such as relate to Baptism and the Lord's Supper), they are deliberately and continuously guilty, I feel constrained to withhold from them the appellation so frequently given them. There is need to repeat to-day in every community the maxim of St. James: "For, whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all."*

Holding such views concerning the significance of the terms Christian and moral, I cannot but feel that persons who venture to deny the divinity of our Blessed Lord and the obligations of His sacraments practically transgress the limits of legitimate religious discussion, inasmuch as these principles are fundamental to its existence.

It is out of no fear of the ultimate issue of what I have here described as illegitimate religious discussion that I insist upon limits being set. The truth is always stronger than any attack upon it, and the history of Christianity affords the strongest encouragement to its believers to-day. But one cannot help feeling deeply concerned for the welfare of those who make attacks upon it, and so, to free them from danger—danger of which no human pen can fully write—one earnestly demands that a limit should be set. No one can consider the result of even a flippant word against Christianity without realizing the peril in which those who hear it may be placed. The very safety and welfare of the community, in its highest rights and privileges, are endangered if there be limitless questioning of the truths which accompany salvation.

In this connection there come up, all unbidden, the solemn words of St. Peter† describing those who "deny the Lord that bought them" and others who "follow their per-

* St. James, II., 10.
† II. St. Peter, 2.

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nicious ways." It is the old question of authority. Men resent dogmatic teaching to-day, as in the days of old. They resent it not only because of what may thus be taught, but because of its putting boundaries to their own conclusions. As of old, these limits are set for men's advantage. It is because of such limits that men are freed from the bondage of irresponsible and dangerous opinions and are held to that truth in whose integrity alone there is absolute liberty.

Speculations are restrained, but belief becomes certainty. It is with no "perhaps" that a soul which has lived within the bounds of revealed religion anticipates the eternal change, but its language is "I KNOW that my Redeemer liveth."

LEIGHTON COLEMAN.

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INSOMNIA AND RECENT HYPNOTICS.

BY WILLIAM A. HAMMOND, M. D., SURGEON-GENERAL U. S. ARMY (RETIRED).

THERE is no more prevalent condition of mental derangement than the inability to sleep. The state of excitement in which people of the present day live, the demands of business, the struggle for wealth and position, all of which were never so great as in our own time, produce just that state of the brain which, if continued not only through the day but far into the night, makes sound and healthy sleep an impossibility.

I am aware that the mere assertion of this fact will not carry half as much weight to the mind of the educated layman as will a few words explaining what sleep is and in what its opposite condition, wakefulness, consists, and I therefore propose, before touching upon the subject of recently discovered sleep-producers, to make their action intelligible by describing briefly what they have to do and how they do it.

Observations made of those persons whom accident or disease has rendered fit subjects for investigation, and experiments conducted with all necessary precautions to insure accuracy, show beyond doubt that sleep is the result of a diminution of the quantity of blood circulating through the brain. Thus Blumenbach, nearly seventy years ago, detailed the case of a young man eighteen years of age who had fallen from a height and fractured his skull, losing a large portion of the bone. After recovery took place a depression remained, covered only by the scalp. While the young man was awake this chasm was quite superficial, but as soon as sleep ensued it became very deep. The change was evidently due to the fact that during sleep the brain was in a collapsed condition from a diminished amount of blood in the cerebral vessels, while when awake the quantity was increased and the scalp correspondingly elevated.

Again in 1821 a woman in Montpelier, France, lost part of her skull by a severe accident and the brain and its membranes

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lay bare. When she was in deep sleep the organ remained motionless beneath the crest of the cranial bones. When she was dreaming it became somewhat elevated and when she was awake it protruded from the fissure in the skull.

It is a well-known fact that in young infants there are two openings in the cranium so that at those places the brain and its membranes are only covered by the scalp. Observation shows us that when these infants are awake the integument is raised considerably above the level of the skull, while when asleep it is correspondingly depressed.

Experiments performed for the express purpose of ascertaining the cause of sleep, confirm the results deduced from the observations cited.

Mr. Durham, a distinguished English surgeon, some thirty years ago trephined the skull of a dog and observed when the brain was exposed to view, that its surface, while the animal was asleep, became pale and sank below the level of the bone; the veins ceased to be distended and many which had been full of dark blood could no longer be perceived. When the animal was roused the surface of the brain became suffused with a red blush and it ascended to the opening through the skull. As the mental excitement increased the brain became more and more turgid with blood and innumerable vessels sprang into sight. After being fed the animal fell asleep and the brain again became contracted and pale. In all these observations the contrast between the two conditions was exceedingly well marked.

Several years ago I became greatly interested in the subject of sleep and its derangements, and from many observations and experiments the conclusion was irresistibly reached that sleep is directly the result of a diminished amount of blood flowing through the brain.

In 1854, when, as a medical officer of the army, I was stationed at Fort Riley, in Kansas, a man came under my notice who had, through a frightful railway accident, lost about eighteen square inches of his skull. There was thus a fissure of his cranium three inches wide and six inches long. The man, who was employed as a wood-chopper, was subject to severe and frequent epileptic fits, during which I often attended him. When he was awake the region of scalp in question was always nearly on a level with the upper surface of the cranial bones. In the act of going to

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sleep it gradually sank until it was more than half an inch lower than it had previously been. At the very instant of awaking the scalp rose to its usual height.

Many experiments which I have performed upon animals lead to results identical with those obtained by Durham, and by means of an instrument screwed into an opening in the skull, and acting in a manner similar to that of a barometer, the intra-cranial pressure can be accurately measured. By this instrument it is shown that during sleep the liquid falls in the tube, while when wakefulness is present, the liquid rises. During the first-named condition, therefore, the pressure is lessened, and this can only be due to a diminution in the quantity of blood in the brain. During the second-named condition the pressure is increased, and this can only result from an augmentation in the volume of the cerebral blood.

There are a great many other reasons that could be brought forward in support of this theory, but the foregoing are sufficient to establish the point. The *immediate* cause of sleep, therefore, is a diminution of the quantity of blood circulating in the vessels of the brain. The *exciting* cause of periodical and natural sleep is the necessity which exists that the loss of substance which the brain has undergone during its state of greatest activity should be restored. To use the simile of the steam engine, the fires are lowered and the operators go to work to repair damages and put the machine in order for the next day's work.

From all this, we know that whatever increases the amount of blood in the brain tends to produce wakefulness, and that whatever lessens the quantity is productive of sleep.

Now, it happens in this stirring age of ours that men—and women too—are worked so much intellectually, or are so emotionally disturbed, that their brains have more to do than they can accomplish, and yet preserve their normal balance. Mental work, whether it be simply perceptional, intellectual, emotional or volitional, requires that an increased amount of blood shall flow to the brain; hence, during mental exertion of any kind, the cerebral vessels become distended owing to the increased volume of blood they contain, and they remain in this condition as long as the exertion is continued. If it be too intense, or if it be persevered in for too long a period without adequate alternations of rest, the vessels lose their contractibility, and remain in a perma-

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nently enlarged state. They are, therefore, not able to contract so as to produce sleep. A state of cerebral congestion is established, and wakefulness is the result.

Such persons go to bed, perhaps, feeling as if they would sleep, but no sooner do their heads touch their pillows than their minds become inordinately active and they lie awake hour after hour recalling the events of the day or else indulging in the most preposterous thoughts. The blood-vessels will not empty themselves simply because they have lost the power to do so. They are like the India-rubber bands that we put around big packages and leave undisturbed for a long time. We try to use them again and we find that the elasticity, which they once possessed, has gone.

As wakefulness is therefore the result of an undue amount of blood flowing through the brain it follows that those agents, whether they be hygienic or strictly medical, that lessen the quantity, will cause sleep. There are many substances known to both physicians and laymen that accomplish this object, but in what I shall have to say on the subject of hypnotics, I shall limit myself to those medicines which are synthetical, that is, formed in the laboratory by the union of other substances of altogether different chemical and therapeutical properties. Some of these are made from coal-tar, that wonderful body to which we owe acetanilide or antifebrine, the so-called antipyrine and many other powerful remedies. All are organic but none of them, like morphine, strychnine, hyoscyamine, and hundreds of other active principles, exists, in a state of nature as a constituent of plants.

And, it is to be borne in mind by the reader, that I am writing simply to give him information in regard to an exceedingly interesting and important subject, a mere smattering, as it were, and not sufficient, even if he were possessed of a medical education, to enable him to use any one of the substances brought to his notice. Every well-educated person ought to have a general knowledge of medical science, and of the means and processes used by physicians and surgeons in the management of the diseases and injuries to which mankind is subject. But this no more qualifies him to use these means and processes himself than reading a work on popular astronomy would fit him to be the director of the Naval Observatory. He would be fully as likely to do as much injury in the one case as in the other. He would be working on his own body, and hence much more to his disadvantage than if he

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were endeavoring to compute the orbits of comets or the periods of the rotation of the moons of Jupiter. No one of the substances that I am going to mention can be used, even by the physician, without his first obtaining a thorough knowledge of the constitution of his patient and of the disease he has to treat.

Paraldehyde.—Paraldehyde is a liquid possessing a strong odor of ether and a burning, followed by a cooling, taste, something like that of peppermint. It is of about the density of water, but its boiling point is much higher, being 255° F. At 50° F. it becomes solid. On account of its strong burning taste it is rarely administered in a pure form, being generally given in an emulsion, with mucilage or almond oil. It is particularly valuable as a hypnotic, owing to the fact that it does not tend to weaken the heart. A teaspoonful produces sleep in from five to fifteen minutes, and it is especially useful in those forms of insomnia which are accompanied by much mental excitement, such as we sometimes witness in the insane. A single dose of it can be detected in the breath twenty-four hours afterwards. It rarely if ever produces any gastric derangement and is rapidly absorbed by the stomach. In proper cases it is one of the most valuable of all the hypnotics, but though it has been ten years before the profession, it has scarcely passed beyond the knowledge of neurologists.

Amylene Hydrate.—This substance is one of the alcohols, is a fluid, colorless, with a strong affinity for water and with an odor and taste similar to that of camphor and peppermint. It readily mixes with water and alcohol. The dose as a hypnotic is from forty-five to sixty minims, but it is not very certain in its action, as it frequently produces mental excitement and wakefulness instead of sleep. It is, however, comparatively safe as it has no marked depressing effect on the respiratory or circulatory organs.

Methylal.—This substance, in its most obvious physical characteristics, strongly resembles paraldehyde, but it is of lower specific gravity and very much lower boiling point, this being only 107.6° F. Methylal, when administered internally, first causes a slight degree of excitement, which is generally followed by sound, refreshing sleep. Owing to the fact that it is rapidly eliminated from the lungs its effects are not very permanent, but this difficulty can be overcome by repeating the dose as often as occasion requires. I have very little personal experience with methylal,

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as I have not been able to discover that it has any advantages over paraldehyde, while it is quite as disagreeable to the taste. It is said to be particularly beneficial in causing sleep in cases of *delirium tremens*, but I think this assertion is to be doubted.

Hypnone.—Hypnone is a colorless liquid with a sharp taste and a peculiar odor. It is somewhat heavier than water. It is not much used in medicine and the dose has to be constantly increased in order to obtain decided effects. It must be given with care, for it weakens the action of the heart and depresses the respiratory power, acting in this respect like chloral and chloroform. The dose is only two or three drops.

Sulphonal.—Although only introduced into medical use three years ago, sulphonal has become widely known and employed as a hypnotic. It occurs in prismatic crystals possessing neither smell nor color and being nearly tasteless. In proper doses, it produces sound and refreshing sleep, but it requires from two to four hours to act. Sulphonal was, at first, asserted to be a perfectly safe medicine. It was said to be free from exercising a depressing effect upon the heart and to be without deleterious influence on the respiratory or digestive organs. Continued experience, however, shows that its administration is not unattended with danger and several deaths from its use have been reported. It seems to have gotten extensively into the hands of the laity, many persons being in the habit of taking it on their own responsibility in order to secure sleep. I have witnessed several cases in which intense cardiac weakness, stupor, and even convulsions have been induced by its use. In one of these cases the patient was in the habit of taking several large doses in the course of the night in order to obtain sleep and generally with an unsuccessful result, for the consequences were frequently intense mental excitement, approaching acute mania in its intensity; twitchings of the arms and legs uncontrollable by the will, severe headache, dimness of sight and upon one occasion double vision. These symptoms did not pass off until late in the afternoon. He was on the verge of acquiring a sulphonal habit when he came under my observation.

Sulphonal is one of those substances, the quantity of which requires to be increased from time to time in order that the desired effect may be produced and hence the danger which attends upon its continued administration. Moreover, like chloral—which substance I shall presently consider—its effect appears to depend,

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to a great extent, on the state of the patient's system at the time it is taken, and hence a dose that may be perfectly safe and beneficial at one time may cause very unpleasant effects at another.

It is scarcely possible to pick up a medical journal without finding the report of one or more cases in which sulphonal carelessly given or taken has been followed by alarming consequences or even by death itself. One reason why it has become such a favorite with persons who take the responsbility of being their own physicians, is the fact of its comparative freedom from taste and odor. But this slight advantage is more than counterbalanced by other qualities not so pleasant, but of much greater importance.

Chloralamid.—Chloralamid is one of the most recent hypnotics, and, judging by our experience up to this time, one of the most useful. It has a slightly bitter taste, and is not readily soluble in water, but it is promptly dissolved in alcohol. It appears to have no injurious action on the heart or respiration. The sleep that it produces is refreshing, and not so profound but that the subject wakes once or twice in the course of the night for a moment or two. It seems to be a pure hypnotic, no other marked effect upon the organs of the body besides the brain having as yet been observed. It simply contracts the cerebral blood-vessels, diminishing the amount of blood circulating in the substance of the brain and thus producing sleep. It begins to act within half an hour. It is a hypnotic even in the cases of those persons who are the subjects of acute pain, and would, therefore, otherwise pass the night in great discomfort.

It is likewise useful when capital operations have been performed and when sleep is so necessary for the organism. In the cases of persons suffering from nervous prostration or insanity, and in whom want of sleep is the prime cause of the nervous exhaustion they so frequently exhibit, chloralamid, when properly administered, is a remedy of inestimable value. Undoubtedly, however, the fact that no cases of its unpleasant results have yet been reported is due to the fact of its having been so short a while before the profession. As soon as the people get hold of it we shall surely have an experience of its effects very different from that which we now possess.

Urethrane.—This substance is not extensively employed in medicine although it has been in use since 1885. It exists in

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colorless crystals, is odorless, and has a taste somewhat like that of salt-petre. It is dissolved readily in water and alcohol. It produces a quiet natural sleep, not followed by any unpleasant results. It is, however, uncertain in its action and hence cannot be relied upon when sleep is imperatively demanded. Nevertheless, I have occasionally seen it succeed when sulphonal and even chloral had failed.

Chloral.—Chloral was first made by Liebig, in 1832, by the action of chlorine on alcohol. Hence the name, consisting of the two first syllables of the words used to designate those substances. Although it has been known for over sixty years, it was only in 1869 that Liebreich introduced it into medical use. It at once took a prominent place among the hypnotics, and has perhaps been more used and more abused than all the rest of the recently discovered sleep-producers combined. It is employed in medicine in the form of a hydrate. As such, it is a white crystallized substance readily absorbing moisture from the atmosphere, and soluble in water or alcohol. It has a somewhat sharp taste and an odor slightly resembling that of chloroform. Chloral has a good many therapeutical applications, but it is only as a hypnotic that I shall here consider it.

The sleep produced by choral is natural in almost every respect. Its first effect when taken in a sleep-producing dose is a slight feeling of exhilaration which is soon followed by a sensation of *bien aise*, which gradually passes into somnolence. The duration of the sleep varies in accordance with the dose, and at its termination there is rarely headache or derangement of the digestive system. Experiments which I have performed with reference to the hypnotic effect of chloral show that it produces a true cerebral anæmia, and hence its power as a hypnotic.

Although small doses of chloral can generally be taken with safety, a large quantity acts as a poison to the heart, paralyzing this organ and therefore causing death. It likewise diminishes the excitability of the respiratory nerve centres and causes a rapid and marked fall in the temperature of the body.

Now there is one fact connected with the physiological action of chloral which is almost sufficient of itself to place it outside of the domain of therapeutics, and that is, the uncertainty, depending upon the individual to whom it is given, as to what constitutes a proper dose; and this as regards not only different persons but

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the same person at different times. Thus a dose that at one time may produce sound and healthy sleep, without any ill consequences, may, at another time, cause many serious symptoms and even death.

I well remember the case of a lady whom I saw, in consultation with a young physician, in New York, soon after chloral was introduced to the profession, and whom, as she was afflicted with insomnia, I advised to take twenty-five grains of it. She took the dose, and, as I was informed the next day by her physician, with the happiest results. The wakefulness proved to be at that time of a temporary character, but about a year subsequently it returned, and her physician recalling to mind the good results of the twenty-five grains of chloral she had taken a year previously, repeated the dose. She at once passed into a condition of stupor from which she could not be aroused, and in less than two hours her heart had ceased to beat. I arrived at the house just in time to see her breathe her last. I have never given chloral since that day.

Liebreich's explanation of this uncertainty in the action of chloral is, that it is decomposed by the alkalinity of the blood and chloroform is set free. When the blood is slightly alkaline, the decomposition takes place slowly and sleep without unpleasant results follows, but when this fluid is strongly alkaline, decomposition ensues with great rapidity and the resulting chloroform poisons the heart.

The deaths from chloral have been very numerous, most of them occurring in persons who have been taking it on their own responsibility. As there are no means of knowing the state of the blood as regards its degree of alkalinity, the practice of taking chloral to produce sleep cannot be too severely condemned; and while I would not, perhaps, go so far as to say that it should never under any circumstances be employed in medicine, I am very sure that even with the utmost watchfulness and care on the part of the physician its use is not unattended with danger.

There is a chloral habit and hence we have a condition known as chloralism. This is probably the most deplorable of all those vices which a desire for stimulants and sedatives, for excitement and oblivion, has fastened upon our civilization; but its consider ation does not fall within the scope of the present discussion.

WILLIAM A. HAMMOND

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UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN FRANCE.

BY M. JEAN MACÉ, LIFE SENATOR.

THE recent Presidential election in the United States, decided by universal suffrage, and the approaching contest in France for the choice of a new Chamber of Deputies, also to be settled by universal suffrage, may impart new interest to a brief account of the origin and present status in France of this mode of exercising sovereignty.

I was an eye-witness on February 25th, 1848, of the unexpected proclamation, in the streets of Paris, of universal suffrage. It was like a river which suddenly breaks through its dikes, imprudently weakened by the riparian dwellers. The spectacle which France presented to the world on that day was that of a country deluged during the night by an overflow of political rights without anybody being prepared for the disaster. But who could have stayed the torrent? All public authority had disappeared in the twinkling of an eye. It was necessary to be on the spot to obtain an exact idea of the description of revolution in the midst of which we Frenchmen found ourselves in the month of February, 1848. The story is worth relating.

During the July Monarchy nobody could vote unless he paid taxes amounting to 200 francs. But this figure once attained, the lucky citizen became a sort of petty sovereign, enjoying all the privileges pertaining to a country afflicted with a large budget whose dispensing was in the hands of a monarch. When studied closely, France is found to have been then a kind of republic—a republic of citizens paying 200 francs to the tax-gatherer, whose very humble servant was Louis Philippe, whatever his title may have been. "The legal country," as Guizot styled this political close corporation, was made up of about from two to three million voters; and Guizot was the man of their heart whom they kept in power for seven years.

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The "outs," who were eager to have their turn in power, despairing of weakening Guizot's solid majority, thought that if they could enlarge the electorate they would have him on the hip. So they proposed to increase the number of voters by lowering the tax requirement to 150 francs and by enfranchising professional men, doctors, lawyers, professors, civil engineers, and all persons holding diplomas, who were declared to possess the necessary capacity for casting an intelligent vote. This was very far from universal suffrage. But it was nevertheless obstinately opposed by Guizot and his friends, who did not relish the idea of admitting to their charmed circle a lot of new-comers who would diminish by just so much their portion in the division of the spoils. This obstinacy of the "short-sighted conservatives"—a party cry which had immediate success—exasperated their opponents, who went from city to city, delivering fiery speeches at innumerable banquets. But these reformers, as greedy and selfish as those whom they combated, did not perceive that their words reached other ears than those at the banquet tables, and that the true country which embraced everybody was beginning to take part in the discussion.

At this same moment, as though arranged on purpose by the enemies of the ruling powers, rumors began to be noised about of scandals in high places, which were, of course, on every occasion, condemned by public opinion. In a word, one fine day, *apropos* of one of these banquets which Louis Philippe, weary of being vilified regularly at dessert, had prohibited, an outbreak occurred in the streets of Paris, and the King's government being attacked, at first only by a handful of malcontents, went to pieces suddenly under the weight of general indifference and dissatisfaction. Nobody overturned it, but everybody let it fall. While people, led by curiosity, were rushing from one quarter of the city to the other to ascertain what the condition of the combat actually was, the report began to circulate that the soldiers refused to fire on their fellow-citizens; that Louis Philippe had run away in a cab, and that there was no longer any king, ministers, government—or anything. The crowd surged into the hall where sat the representatives of "the legal country," swept them out as if they were so much straw, and then proclaimed the Republic, universal suffrage and a provisional government made up from those who

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happened to be present. All this was done at once, and there was nothing left for France but to make the most of the situation. She finally extricated herself from the difficulty, as everybody now knows, by choosing a master.

The year had not ended when the seven millions of votes given on December 10th to a Bonaparte, showed too clearly and too late the tendencies of universal suffrage. There was no mistaking the meaning; it was not a President of the Republic, but an Emperor, whom universal suffrage had chosen. "A chief, a chief! We want a chief!" This cry of the election agents of the Prince-President, as he was soon to be called, is still ringing in my ears. The Republicans protested in vain; nobody listened to them. It was a refrain of the same sort that the supporters of Boulanger shouted through the streets of Paris and through the Departments during the critical hour of his popularity:

> "It is Boulange, lange, lange,
> It is Boulange that we want."

Who can ever tell how near Boulanger came to making his *coup d'état*, universal suffrage standing ready to put him in power —the common people and the upper classes uniting for this purpose, it is to be noted, just as they did on December 2nd, 1851?

How can we reconcile this persistent "need of a man," a longing so decidedly anti-republican, which showed itself again, after the terrible lesson of 1870, as full of life and as obstinate as in 1851—how can we reconcile it, I ask, with the instinctive horror of monarchy which universal suffrage accentuates more and more every time it is called upon to express an opinion on the subject? It is both anti-monarchical and un-republican at one and the same time. And yet our French Republic of to-day appears so solid, on account of the stand taken by universal suffrage, that the partisans of Monarchy have finally disbanded and are now debating whether or no to accept the Republic. This is an appparent anomaly which, however, is easily explained.

French society of to-day dates from the Revolution of 1789. It replaced, as every body knows, the old regime. Now the Revolution put an end to three features of the old regime,—its three fundamental principles. It killed Monarchy by proclaiming national sovereignty. It killed the nobility by

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proclaiming the abolition of privileges. It killed the spiritual domination of the clergy by proclaiming the enfranchisement of conscience and of reason. These three principles died together, but as social institutions never yield without a long and determined struggle for life, we are still witnessing to-day the moribund efforts of the old regime.

It was only natural that the Republic, especially the Republic of universal suffrage, should succeed this complete falling to pieces of the old regime. National sovereignty and the Republic are the same thing. Equality in the sovereignty is a *sine qua non* in a nation where all men are declared to be equal. Prepared or unprepared for such a change, the people of the Revolution found themselves forced to accept the Republic for all time, even when it should be discovered, during moments of weakness, to be a rather heavy burden to bear.

Our Third Republic is in reality simply the revival of the First Republic, twice overthrown by the two Napoleons with the acclamations, alas! of the French people. It is painful to me to have to make such a confession, especially to foreign readers. But why shut one's eyes to so evident a fact? One must be just, however, at the same time. How could it have been otherwise? How could a people, trained for centuries to passive obedience, be made ready at a moment's notice for the republican form of government, and how could universal suffrage be other than a dangerous instrument in their hands? A republic of universal suffrage requires, in order to prosper, that the nation be composed of real citizens, men who look upon public affairs as their own affairs, who understand them, guard them each on his own account, and who believe in the solidarity of citizenship: one for all, all for one. This is, I admit, an ideal polity. But if its complete realization be a chimera, there is an absolute necessity that this ideal be realized up to a certain point, if civil government is to succeed in a democracy. It exists in a state of sufferance or falls into entire disuse according as the surrounding conditions are more or less favorable to its development. When you see the ignorant and indifferent shirk their duty to the commonwealth you may always lay the blame on the instinct of self-preservation.

But—and this is the true explanation of this situation in France—neither during the Boulanger episode, nor on the 18th

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Brumaire, nor on December 2nd, 1851, did these ignorant and indifferent citizens have the slightest idea of yielding up the benefits bestowed by the Revolution, which are much more precious in their eyes than is the Republic. So when, feeling unequal to the task of governing themselves, they have had recourse to a master, they have always been very careful not to seek him among the followers of the old regime. Their man could not be and never has been other than a representative of the Revolution. Monarchy is a word that sounds badly to their ears. To them it means a body of privileged nobles and domineering priests. Its partisans may give out that they accept the Republic. But this is not enough ; they must lift their hats to the Revolution if they hope to get into the good graces of universal suffrage. Cæsarism, Revolutionary Cæsarism, is the demon ever ready to pounce on the France of universal suffrage. But the future pretender, if one is in store for us, is still in the background whence suddenly issued his predecessor a few years ago. Like Boulanger he will be pushed rapidly to the front by personal ambition and by a combination of circumstances that cannot be predicted. He has yet no party behind him, because he has not made himself known. No, I am mistaken. He has a party, a powerful party, even now ready to aid him when he appears on the scene, each prepared to help and be benefited by the other. A word about this party.

Let us examine carefully the evolution which Rome is forcing at this moment on the French clergy. Hidden behind the pretended accepting of the Third Republic, by which nobody is duped—the Pope is too shrewd to have expected that it would be otherwise—stands a grave fact, much graver than it appears at first sight, viz., the official abandonment by the Church of the monarchical party with which it has lived on the best of terms ever since 1870. This sudden and peremptory order of Leo XIII. to the faithful to break with that party is a very bitter pill for our bishops, who have had recourse so often to the long purses of the nobility, and for our priests who have always had their place at table in the chateaux of the aristocracy. They do not obey without grumbling, though they do bow to this formal injunction, coming as it does from the head of the Church who has evidently fully decided on the course he means to pursue. Leo XIII., like a

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careful pilot, has thrown overboard the cumbersome cargo of French monarchy and is now free to steer his ecclesiastical bark where he will. He has boldly determined to abandon to their unfortunate fate old allies whom he has at last found more compromising than useful. And this brings us to the core of this subject of the history of universal suffrage in France.

Of the three dethroned powers of the old regime, the clergy is the only one which still exercises any political influence; and it owes this influence to universal suffrage. Under Louis Philippe, as I very well remember, the political rôle of the clergy was almost null. There was this one good thing about his two-hundred-franc citizens,—the Church had a very slight hold on them as far as political matters were concerned. They were generally too Voltairian and too independent to receive ballots from the hands of their priests. But the accident of February 24th, 1848—the flood of voters which it spread over France—suddenly transformed this ecclesiastical army into a vast political machine, acting alike simultaneously throughout the whole country. The Church, which a moment before played so small a part in the plans of the politicians, became in a day a mighty engine with which everybody had to count. The friends of General Cavaignac, the Republican candidate for the Presidency during the Second Republic, hoped to bring the clergy over to their side by sending a French fleet to the aid of the Pope who had been chased from his dominions by his indignant subjects. This action led later to the French occupation of Rome, a ball and chain which France had to drag about with her during the Second Empire. It appears that Louis Napoleon promised more than Cavaignac, or at least that the Church expected more from him; for, a week before the election, the clergy, who were up to that time laboring in the interest of the General, suddenly received orders to change front. I was an eye-witness to this fact in our eastern Departments. And, indeed, these ecclesiastics were richly rewarded by him for this valuable support; for, as long as Napoleon sat on the throne, they were masters and did as they liked.

When, in 1870, the Empire fell, the clergy threw themselves, body and soul into the reactionary struggle of the monarchists against the establishment of the Third Republic. Unfortunately for these pious politicians they found themselves in compromising company, and laid themselves open to attack. Universal suf-

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frage, which, during the eighteen years of Louis Napoleon, had submissively accepted their rule, now rebelled when the country seemed threatened with a "government of priests," as Gambetta called it, and so they failed in their bold attempt to secure again the upper hand.

The persistent clergy were offered another chance to regain their lost power when the country went almost mad over Boulanger. The Church quickly resumed its old post, as in 1848, behind the popular idol. Supported by Rochefort, Laguerre and Naquet, General Boulanger was an excellent screen for concealing the ecclesiastical wire-pullers, and if he had carried the day he would have found himself a more complete prisoner of the Church than was Napoleon III., because he would not have had the glory of a great name to give him personal prestige. Fate happily decided that this should not be. But the same thing will happen again when another Cæsar appears in the field, and the game will be played all the more easily this time because the tie is now broken which bound together church and monarchy.

Thus have things gone in our country since public affairs were placed in the hands of universal suffrage. Will they continue to go on in this way? This is a very difficult question to answer, complicated as it is by discordant elements. The French people, taken as a whole, are not yet republican. The nation is forced to accept the Republic; it is forced to do so by the Revolution which it will not abandon at any price. Universal suffrage was a danger to the country from the very first, and is so still. But nobody dares attempt to remove the evil because it is the final and natural outcome of the Revolution which is inviolable. It would be difficult to find a country in a more illogical situation. But, in spite of this predicament, France advances with a light step in the path of human progress. Its people live peacefully and grow richer day by day, toiling on impassively while forms of government succeed one another, causing only a ripple on the surface. It enjoys the passing hour, and has confidence in the future without, however, being able to heal the sore in its side.

Is there a more difficult problem to solve than that of the life of nations?

JEAN MACE.

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FOREIGN NATIONS AT THE WORLD'S FAIR.

JAPAN, BY HIS EXCELLENCY, THE JAPANESE MINISTER AT WASHINGTON, GOZO TATENO; ITALY, BY AUGUSTUS O. BOURN, CONSUL-GENERAL AT ROME.

I.—JAPAN.

THE interest in the World's Columbian Exposition which foreign nations have so generally shown is cordially shared in Japan. Other countries have more extensive commercial relations with the United States, and all European nations are more closely identified with the historical event which the Exposition is designed to commemorate, but none, I may venture to say, will join more heartily than Japan in the endeavor to make the undertaking a success.

The importance of the Exposition itself and the magnificent scale upon which it has been planned, would naturally excite feelings of this kind, but, apart from this, there is another sentiment involved which causes the Japanese Government and the Japanese people to look with especial friendliness upon such an enterprise when inaugurated by the United States.

From one point of view international Expositions may be regarded as a growth of modern civilization, designed, in part at least, to bring the nations of the earth into closer communion with each other. Their purely utilitarian uses may overshadow this fundamental purpose, but the fact remains that the promotion of commercial intercourse and the enhancement of mercantile profits are not their only, or their most important, object.

To the Japanese people, in their present condition, this is the view which naturally suggests itself first. We think that the enlargement of old, and the opening of new channels of trade are to be desired, but we deem it even more desirable that the world should gain a more accurate and comprehensive knowledge of our

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country, its history, its progress, and its aspirations. Any occasion, therefore, which will bring Japan into closer touch with other nations is welcome to us, and most of all so when the opportunity is offered by a country whose government and people have always displayed a sincere and kindly interest in our welfare.

Japan is by no means a novice as regards international Expositions. We have participated—I think I may say with credit—in every important Exposition which has been held during the past twenty years. We have had, besides, several Expositions of our own, national, it is true, and therefore limited in scope, but not devoid of notably beneficial results. Japan will consequently participate in the Columbian Exposition with an accurate knowledge of the advantages which should accrue to her people from this opportunity to show to the world their true condition, social and political, as well as the manner in which they are maintaining the reputation they have gained in certain branches of art and industry.

As I have already intimated, apart from any benefit to themselves, my countrymen will take peculiar pleasure in adding, however little it may be, to the success of an enterprise in which the United States is so deeply interested. It might perhaps be out of place for me to dwell too minutely upon this branch of the subject, but I violate no confidence when I speak of the appreciation which Japan entertains for the friendship uniformly shown to her by the United States. The notable manifestations of that friendship are a part of current history; they have created in the minds of the Japanese people a feeling of confidence and esteem which will gladly find expression on every suitable occasion.

The unique experience through which Japan has passed during the past thirty years is known to all. But the trials to which she has been subjected, and the obstacles she has had to overcome in the path of progress she has chosen for herself, are not so generally understood or appreciated. Casual observers are inclined to regard the picturesque rather than the practical side of her history.

The experience of a nation suddenly emerging from the isolation of centuries into the noonday glare of the nineteenth century undoubtedly presents picturesque features. To a people so situated, however, ambitious and self-respecting, not ashamed of

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their ancient civilization, but eager to secure the benefits of modern progress, and, above all, determined to maintain their national prestige, the situation is one of stern reality. They cannot live in the past, and, if they have a high ideal, they must perform in decades what it has taken other nations centuries to accomplish.

Such was the task which the circumstances of her situation forced upon Japan, and it may be said without boastfulness that she has thus far attained a measure of success in its performance of which she has no reason to be ashamed. Her path has not always been an easy or a pleasant one, but she has been fortunate in many things, in none more so than in the friendship of her powerful neighbor, the United States, who was the first to bring her into intimate intercourse with other nations, and who has never been unmindful of her aspirations or heedless of her rights.

The manner in which the Japanese Government and people manifested their desire to participate in the Columbian Exposition affords a practical illustration of the sentiment of gratitude which the considerate policy of the United States has aroused. The question was first brought into public notice in March, 1890. The Imperial Diet was then holding its first session, the initial essay of the Empire in parliamentary government. There had been friction between the legislative and executive branches of the Government, as was but natural at the outset of a change of such momentous importance.

The Diet's powers as regards the National Budget are considerable, and there had been a determined effort to curtail the public expenditures. Under the circumstances, no suggestion was less likely to meet with approval than the proposal to expend a large sum of money in an entirely new direction. Yet it was while these conditions prevailed that the Diet voluntarily proposed to the Cabinet that provision should be made for Japan's participation in the Columbian Exposition. The proposal was accompanied by an intimation that the Diet was prepared to immediately appropriate whatever sum might be necessary for the purpose.

The proposal was cordially welcomed by the executive branch of the Government, for it was evident that whatever differences of opinion there might be concerning questions of domestic policy, all parties were agreed upon this subject. Nor can there be any doubt as regards the specific ground upon which this una-

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nimity of opinion rested. Every Japanese, whether in public or private station, naturally desired that Japan should be worthily represented at the World's Fair. But sentiments of self-respect and self-interest apart, there was an evident consensus of opinion that this was a suitable opportunity for the manifestation of the high estimation in which Japan holds her relations with the United States. This was the sentiment expressed by the Ministry, by the Diet, and in the public press.

When the proposal was made, in March, 1890, to appropriate the amount necessary to defray the expenses of participating in the Exposition, the official invitation of the United States had just been received, and there was not time, before the adjournment of the Diet, to submit an estimate of the amount which would be required. At the beginning of the next session, however, in November of the same year, a supplementary budget providing for the expenditure of six hundred and thirty thousand yen, or about half a million dollars, was submitted to the Diet, and was passed by both Houses by a practically unanimous vote.

On the 5th of June, 1891, His Majesty the Emperor appointed a commission to take charge of the preparations for Japan's exhibit in the Exposition. It consisted of a President, Vice-President, and five Commissioners, the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce being designated to act *ex-officio* as President, and the other members being gentlemen whose technical knowledge and previous experience fit them for the intelligent discharge of the duties intrusted to the Commission.

By the Imperial decree constituting the Commission an Advisory Council was appointed to assist in preparing the exhibit. In all previous international Expositions the Government has retained exclusive control. The appointment of this Council, which includes among its members a number of manufacturers and merchants, may therefore be regarded as an important departure, especially significant in its recognition of the extent of the popular interest in Japan regarding the Exposition.

In adopting a general plan of action the Commission resolved that the exhibit of Japan, while comprehensive, should be a thoroughly accurate and typical representation of the arts, manufactures, industries, and commerce of the Empire. There is a natural tendency in such enterprises to make the best possible showing, especially as regards industrial and commercial exhibits—to

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exhibit goods a little superior in quality. and to affix prices a little lower in amount than the exact market average. The Commission accordingly notified intending exhibitors that they did not wish the exhibits in these classes to be different in any respect from similar articles designed only for domestic use. On the contrary, they desired that the industrial and commercial portion of Japan's exhibit should be nothing more than a truthful reflex of the conditions prevailing in Japan.

The Commission naturally advised a different course in relation to the products of artistic skill. Here the object is to show the best that can be produced, and, on that account, exhibitors were informed that no effort should be spared to prove that Japanese artists retain the reputation they have earned in certain branches of art.

As preparations for the Exposition progressed, it became apparent that the labors of the Commission would be facilitated by the systematic concentration of the work in different parts of the Empire. Local commissions were accordingly appointed in each prefecture, consisting of the governor, local officials, merchants and manufacturers. These commissions were directed to deal with all matters relating to exhibits from their several districts, and to report all essential details to the central Commission.

Notification was also given of the assistance which the Government intends to extend to exhibitors, which includes freight and insurance upon exhibits from the point of shipment to Chicago and return; expenses incurred for storage and insurance in the United States prior to the opening of the Exposition; insurance during the Exposition, and incidental expenses, such as the cost of shelves, showcases, etc. It is safe to assume that no country has undertaken to do more in this respect than Japan.

When the task of preparing for the Exposition was commenced, it was roughly estimated that the weight of the exhibits would amount to one thousand tons, which would have been nearly three times that of the Japanese exhibits sent to Philadelphia in 1876, and to Paris in 1889. But when the catalogues of proposed exhibits were received from the local commissions it was found that they would exceed seven thousand tons weight. The space allotted to Japan in the Exposition and the sum appropriated for expenses

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were obviously inadequate for an exhibit of this size, and it became necessary to curtail it in some way. By a system of strict examination, and by the choice of only the best and the most characteristic specimens, the Commission finally succeeded in reducing the weight of the exhibits to about seventeen hundred and fifty tons.

Towards the end of 1891 the Imperial Government sent Commissioner Tejima to the United States for the purpose of making arrangements with the Exposition management in regard to the space to be set apart for Japan in the grounds and buildings. As a result of the agreement arrived at the following allotments of space were made to Japan:

On Wooded Island, in Jackson Park, 40,000 square feet for the exhibition of historical architecture; in the Building of Manufactures and Liberal Arts, 40,000 square feet; in the Building of Agriculture, 3,500 square feet; in the Palace of Fine Arts, 2,850 square feet; in the Horticultural Building, 4,000 square feet; in the Building of Forestry, 950 square feet; in the Building of Mines and Mining, 1,800 square feet; in the Building of Fish and Fisheries, 1,400 square feet; in the Midway Plaisance, 50,000 square feet for a bazaar, and 4,000 square feet for a tea house.

The buildings on Wooded Island are unique in design and construction. They are intended to illustrate three different epochs of Japanese architecture, and will be known as the Hō-ōden, or "Phœnix Palace." They will consist of three separate buildings, connected by wide corridors, and so arranged as to possess an air of general architectural unity. The left wing is in the style of the Ashikaga period (about A. D. 1400). The right wing is modelled upon the architecture in vogue during the most prosperous period of the Fujiwara supremacy (about A. D. 1200), while the main hall follows in design the architecture most common at the time when the Tokugawa family had reached the height of its power (about A. D. 1700).

The general ground plan of the buildings is similar to that of one of the most famous historical temples in Japan, the Hō-ōdo (Phœnix Temple) built in the village of Uji eight hundred and forty-two years ago. An effort will be made to have these buildings conform in every detail of construction and ornamentation to their historical models. The interior decoration has been undertaken by the Tokio Art School, and the furniture and works

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of art in each building will be selected by the authorities of the Imperial Museum, and will be typical of the different periods to which the buildings, respectively, belong.

It is also proposed to lay out the grounds about the Hō-ōden upon the model of the gardens of the castles of the Daimios, the former territorial nobles of Japan. For this purpose gardeners have been brought from Japan, and have already begun work. Japanese trees and shrubs will be imported, and it is hoped that when the garden is completed it will be a fair sample of the landscape gardening which has been so much admired by visitors to Japan.

The Hō-ōden has been presented to the city of Chicago, and will pass under its control at the close of the Exposition.

The principal exhibits of Japan at the Exposition will be silk, silk fabrics, lacquer, porcelain, bronze, wood carvings, bamboo work, articles made of leather, tea, rice, fish, mineral products, and educational apparatus.

The articles which in Japan it is usual to include under the designation of "fine arts" differ in some respects from the category recognized in the West. The exhibits under that head in the Exposition will, of course, conform to the classification adopted in Japan. They will include gold lacquer, cloisonné, bronzes, paintings, carvings, embroidery, and that kind of painting upon silk and velvet peculiar to Japan, and known as "Yuzen." Inspectors have been appointed in the office of the Commission at Tokio, whose duty it is to closely examine every article offered for exhibition under this classification, and to accept only the best and most truly representative specimens of Japanese art.

The Commission has devoted much time and study to the arrangement and ornamentation of the Japanese sections in the Exposition. They desire to reproduce, as nearly as is possible, the appearance of Japanese environment for the Japanese exhibits. For example, just at the entrance to the Japanese section in the Building of Manufactures and Liberal Arts, a gate will be erected such as is found before all Japanese buildings of any pretension. This gate with its graceful curved roof, supported by four pillars, and with the watchmen's lodges at either side, will be an interesting example of one of the most characteristic types in Japanese architecture. Other gates of simpler design will be placed at the

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side of the section. The walls of the Japanese section in the Fine Arts Building will also be constructed and ornamented in a distinctively Japanese style.

A large Japanese building will be erected in the Exposition grounds near Wooded Island by the Tea Merchants' Guild of Japan. The enterprise is a private one, but its promoters do not expect to derive any profit from it. Their object is to familiarize the American public with the best varieties of Japanese tea, and with Japanese methods of preparing it. Several rooms in the building will be especially constructed for the *cha-no-yu*, an ancient tea drinking ceremonial which once ranked as a cult in Japan.

The Japanese bazaar is also a private enterprise, a number of Japanese merchants and manufacturers having formed an association and obtained permission to establish a bazaar in the Exposition grounds. The shops will be built in the Japanese fashion, and an extensive variety of Japanese goods will be offered for sale. The preparations for this enterprise have been made upon a scale which warrants the belief that the display will be very attractive.

When it became known that a women's section had been established in the Exposition a number of Japanese ladies combined to prepare exhibits illustrative of the condition and avocations of Japanese women. Their Majesties the Empress and the Empress Dowager displayed warm interest in the undertaking, and contributed generously to its successful prosecution.

The Association appointed a committee of nineteen to have charge of the work of preparation, which has been carried on industriously and systematically. The space allotted to the Japanese section in the Women's Building at Chicago is necessarily limited, so that the committee has been obliged to exercise the greatest care in choosing specimens of the arts and handicrafts in which Japanese women engage. These include painting, engraving, lace-making, embroidery, the manufacture of porcelain, cloisonné, lacquer, textile fabrics, and the preparation of raw silk. There will be several exhibits from the silk manufactory in the Aoyama Palace, which is under the patronage of Her Majesty the Empress Dowager, and which is conducted entirely by women.

It is the purpose of the Ladies' Association to reproduce within the space at their disposal three fac-similes of the rooms occupied

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by noble Japanese ladies in feudal times. All the furniture and fittings will be in keeping, the former having been loaned by ladies belonging to families in which the articles to be loaned have been kept as heirlooms.

With a view to explaining the social and economic status of Japanese women, a book and a statistical pamphlet will be published in the English language, under the auspices of the Ladies' Association. The pamphlet will give, in tabulated form, the statistics of female education and employment, and of philanthropic and charitable enterprises under female supervision. The book will be, as far as possible, a complete review of the position held by women in Japan, their domestic and public status, their religious and educational training, their lives as daughters, wives, and mothers, and their employment in the various arts and industries.

It should be added that the work of the Ladies' Association is independent of Government control, and has been inaugurated, and is being carried on, entirely by themselves.

The foregoing is a necessarily incomplete review of the share which Japan intends to take in the World's Columbian Exposition. Other matters of interest might be mentioned, if the space at command permitted, but I trust I have said enough to show the deep interest which my Government and my countrymen take in the subject, and their determination to make their part of the Exposition a credit to themselves and a tribute worthy of the regard which they entertain for the United States. That they anticipate the happiest results from their efforts in this direction may be taken as a matter of course. They know that they may reasonably hope to show the world that Japan is a country of rich and varied resources, whose people have not lost their love of beauty or their skill in reproducing it in manifold artistic forms; and whose soil and mines and waters produce an abundance of staples for the creation and continuance of a prosperous commerce. But, above all, they hope that what they will do on this occasion will bring them into closer contact with intelligent, thinking people, and will prove that Japan is a country worthy of full fellowship in the family of nations, no longer deserving to labor under the incubus which circumstances forced upon her.

Without challenging the rightfulness of the restrictions which

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were imposed upon them when their first treaties were made, the Japanese people feel that the necessity for those restrictions has entirely passed away. The burden which still remains may seem light to others; to them it is an ever-present reminder of the fact that all they have accomplished is incomplete so long as this unnecessary, incumbering vestige of the past remains. Therefore, it is just that they welcome the Columbian Exposition as one means of proving that they have attained a position worthy of the respect and confidence of other nations.

GOZO TATENO.

II.—ITALY.

ALTHOUGH the political events of the past year have brought Italy prominently to the attention of our people, it does not seem to be generally known that our commercial relations with her are more important than with any other European nation except Great Britain, Germany and France.

That these relations are not still more extensive, is to a great extent our own fault. for the Italians not only believe that whatever comes from America is the best that can be produced, but they are perfectly willing to pay us our prices for many of our manufactures that now only reach them through other nations at such an increased cost as to almost prohibit their purchase. On the other hand they thoroughly appreciate the fact that our market is the largest and best in the world, and they are anxious to seize every opportunity to increase their sales to us.

It is therefore very pertinent to ask: What are the possibilities in the way of an exhibit from Italy at the coming Exposition at Chicago, and what will she send us to illustrate her resources?

Italy can divide with Spain the glory of having furnished the central figure in whose honor the Exposition is to be held. The latter provided Columbus with the means for the voyage of discovery, but Italy was the land of his birth, the home of his boyhood and youth, and inspired him with that spirit of adventure which resulted in the discovery of America. No details can be sent of the place of his birth, but elaborate descriptions and photographs of the house in Genoa in which he passed his boyhood and youth have long since been sent to the managers of the Exposition.

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Upon the first announcement of the intended celebration the Italians entered most heartily into the spirit of the project and extensive arrangements were made for the preparation of suitable exhibits. But, as a good proportion of those intending to exhibit cannot do so, owing to the very limited space allotted to Italy, especially in the Fine Arts Department, their ardor has been somewhat dampened. There is no doubt, however, that the small space allotted will be fully and worthily occupied.

The Commissioners who visited Italy last winter were cordially received. They were granted interviews with the King and Queen, and also with the Pope. The Queen partially promised to loan her collection of old laces, which is said to be the finest in the world, and the Pope promised to send a collection from the treasures of the Vatican, to show the interest he took in the success of the undertaking. The Commissioners were also present at several meetings of the most prominent artists of Rome and Florence, and visited the chief manufacturing centres, receiving everywhere assurances of cordial support.

The Government has shown a disposition to coöperate in every possible way to assist exhibitors. Under its direction a central committee has been formed in Rome, with Monteverde, the eminent sculptor, as President, and with auxiliaries in all the chief cities of the kingdom to superintend the collection and forwarding of exhibits. A government transport will convey to New York, free of charge, everything intended for the Exposition. No money, however, had been appropriated to pay the expenses of exhibitors when I left Rome, in August, but the subject was then under favorable consideration.

If those remains of Roman magnificence that attract hundreds of thousands of visitors from every quarter of the world could be bodily transported to the exhibition grounds, or could be faithfully reproduced there in perishable plaster; if we could select from Italy's stores of sculpture and paintings and from her museums of art as we would like, there would be at Chicago such a collection of both ancient and modern works of art as the world has never seen. But it is highly improbable that even a small representation of Italy's ancient remains will be attempted, or that she will intrust to the dangers of an ocean voyage many of her gems of art. For we must not forget that these are among her chief resources, and that to see them visitors from other lands

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spend in Italy upwards of one hundred millions of dollars every year. We may look, however, to her artists of to-day for a representation of which any nation might well be proud.

I do not know whether our American artists living in Italy will send their works to the Italian section or not, but if they should, the city of Rome alone could furnish an exhibition of sculpture that neither Italy nor the United States would be ashamed to compare with the collection of any other nation. If Simmons could send a reproduction of his masterpiece, the soldiers' monument at Portland, Me., or those graceful ideals in marble, "Penelope," "the Mother of Moses," or "the Young Medusa"; if Ezekiel could send his magnificent bronze statue of Columbus that is now being cast for Furber's Columbian Building at Chicago, or some of his wonderful portraits in marble; if Greenough, who has long been so favorably known in the United States, could send some of his favorite works in bronze; if Story, the elder, could send some of his well-known works, for which he has gained so great a reputation; if Story, the younger, could send some of the exquisite bas-reliefs that he has recently finished; if we could have a worthy representation of the works of Harnish, who made the Calhoun monument for Charleston, S. C., or of Miss Varney and Miss Hosmer, who are excelled by no other women as sculptors—all of these would worthily supplant the productions of those well-known Roman sculptors who are expected to contribute examples of their work. I must not, however, omit to mention Vedder, or Hazeltine, or Coleman, who maintain with honor the reputation of America, and whose pictures draw throngs of our travelling citizens to their studios.

Italy is essentially an agricultural country, nearly seventy per cent. of her population being directly engaged in agriculture. She is not only practically independent of the rest of the world for her food supply, but her exports are chiefly the product of her soil. These also would, therefore, naturally constitute a representation of her chief resources. Her crops of wheat, corn, rye, barley, oats, and rice are of excellent quality and generally sufficient for her wants, while the olive oil from Lucca is equal to any the world can produce. Wine is abundantly produced in every section, and when well prepared is of excellent quality. In former years, before the disastrous rupture of Italy's reciprocity treaty

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with France, a large part of her wines found their way to this country among the best brands of Bordeaux clarets.

She also produces chestnuts, which, with corn and macaroni, are the chief articles of food consumed by the people; hemp, from Bologna, of such fineness and lustre as almost to resemble silk; cocoons and raw silk, which the patient and industrious peasants are so well fitted to raise; flax of excellent quality, which is chiefly spun and woven at home for domestic purposes—for in Italy linen is universally used instead of cotton, and the farmers' wives could display stocks of snowy linen that would excite the envy of any American woman.

Italy exports very largely of oranges and lemons, sulphur, and argol, or crude cream of tartar,—and the bulk of all these is taken by the United States. We also take largely of her cheese, candied citrons, essences, glycerine, gloves and soap, almonds, filberts, pistachio nuts, hazel nuts and walnuts. Her orchards produce apples, pears, figs, peaches, apricots, nectarines, olives and pomegranates. Potatoes and vegetables of every description are universally grown, and in the South the sugar cane and cotton plant flourish. There are also mines of zinc, lead, iron, copper, gold, silver, quicksilver, antimony, alum and coal.

In 1891 nearly 120,000 tons of iron ore were shipped to the United States from the single port of Leghorn. The zinc ore is shipped chiefly to Belgium, whence much of it finds its way to the United States as the best Belgian zinc. The marble quarries of Carrara have been famous from the earliest times and still produce the finest statuary marble to be found in the world. At San Valentino, near Ancona, there are mines of bitumen which is said to be stronger and more durable than the best Trinidad asphalt. At Cagliari, in Sardinia, there are salt-works which have a capacity of about one thousand tons a day.

But it by no means follows that the exhibits from Italy will be confined to sculpture, paintings and the products of the soil. The bulk of her manufactures, it is true, are household industries which never appear prominently to the outside observer. She has her manufactories of cotton, woollen and linen goods, besides iron foundries and ship-yards where there have been built and armed the largest vessels of war in existence. It is, however, in the department of artistic manufactures that we may expect a most interesting exhibit.

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Salviati of Venice will establish in the Exposition Buildings a branch of his celebrated manufactory of Venetian glass-ware and mosaics, and other well-known manufacturers will contribute examples of their best products. We shall thus have at Chicago, without doubt, a much finer collection of art examples in that wonderful Venetian glass, which the rest of the world has heretofore failed to imitate, than can be found even in Venice itself—mirrors, chandeliers, table services, and designs for every conceivable purpose of ornament, in variety and richness almost to dazzle the imagination—and mosaics, not small articles of jewelry, but large, elaborate, and elegant pictures. It is not at all improbable that, if sufficient encouragement be given, one or more of these manufacturers may permanently establish themselves in the United States, and thus another new branch of industry be added to our list.

There will also be Florentine mosaics from Florence. One who has formed his conceptions of these mosaics from the small articles that occasionally find their way to our country can have no idea of the elaborate designs which can be wrought by the skilful Florentine artists from the hard pebbles picked up in riverbeds. I have seen at Florence table-tops of wonderful beauty that it had required years of continuous labor to execute.

There will be sent from Venice samples of most exquisite laces; from Florence, Siena and Venice artistically carved furniture; and from Milan furniture inlaid with ivory, in addition to silks, velvets and brocades. From Tuscany we shall have, in almost endless variety contributions of the celebrated Florentine straw braids and manufactures. And then there will be in great variety majolicas, which doubtless are produced in Italy in the greatest perfection. If Genori, who has done so much to restore the ancient fame of Italian porcelain and pottery, should exhibit but a small part of what I have seen in the show rooms of his manufactory near Florence, it would be one of the most attractive corners of the Exposition.

And then there will be bronzes, less elaborate perhaps than the French, but of purer classical designs; also tapestries, arms, armor, stuffs, and other antiquities. We may also expect worthy specimens in stucco working and fresco paintings, in which the Italians easily surpass other nations.

AUGUSTUS O. BOURN.

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POSSIBILITIES OF THE TELESCOPE.

BY ALVAN G. CLARK.

WHAT the telescope of the future can do, may be partly learned from a comparative survey of its past history and progress. When Galileo in the early part of the seventeenth century showed his first telescope, which magnified only three diameters, to the astonished authorities of Venice, little did they dream of the possibility of the Lick refractor of to-day.

Galileo's first instrument was similar in construction to the ordinary opera glass. It was no more powerful, and was far less perfect. In fact, it consisted merely of two single lenses, one being convex and the other concave. Even his last and best telescope, magnifying thirty diameters, was much inferior to some of our spy-glasses. But even with this small instrumental equipment a new world was unveiled. He saw the spots on the sun, the phases of Venus, the mountains of the moon, the satellites of Jupiter, the rings of Saturn, and thrust back the barriers of the stellar world.

It may be remarked that there are two general classes of telescopes, the refracting and the reflecting. Much success has been attained by the Herschels, Lassell and others in the construction of reflecting telescopes, but as the refractor has proved itself the superior and as its possibilities for the future are, in my opinion, much greater, I shall confine myself principally to that.

The refracting telescope is composed of two principal parts, the object glass and the eye glass. The object glass has a general convexity of form, and its purpose is to collect light from the object and bring it to a focus near the eye glass, where it forms a bright image. The eye glass, in its turn, magnifies this image and renders it visible to the eye on an enlarged scale. But in order to enlarge the image we must collect considerable light, and

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the more we magnify or spread out this image the more light we must collect to render it visible, and consequently the greater object glass, or light collector, we must have. Hence it was that simultaneously with the first telescopes arose the desire to get more light in order to obtain a greater magnification.

Two difficulties, however, presented themselves; first, that a single convex lens will not accurately converge all the rays of light to the same focus, and, second, that a single lens, acting as a prism, disperses the rays, thus giving a series of overlapping images of different colors. The first is called spherical and the last chromatic aberration.

In order to increase the power of the early telescopes, recourse was had to larger single lenses of great focal length; but this only partly obviated the difficulty, and it rendered them very unwieldy. About 1758 Dollond found that if the object glass was composed of two lenses of different kinds of glass, and of the proper form, instead of one, both aberrations could be corrected. It is by this principle that the modern achromatic telescope has been made possible.

But the main question of this article is: What are the future possibilities of the telescope, and what is the limit to its size; also, what will the great telescopes of the future do? We answer that there is practically no limit to its size, the reason for our answer being contained partly in what has already been said, and partly in what will follow.

For centuries men studied the heavens more or less successfully without the aid of telescopes. Gradually, however, the standard of observation was raised, but with the invention of the telescope a tremendous advance was made. Hitherto, men's observations were confined to the limits of ordinary vision. Not a single observation could be obtained beyond it. With the advent of the telescope, however, the horizon of knowledge was greatly enlarged even at the outset. Then came the desire for greater power, and to obviate the difficulty in the single lens system, long unwieldy instruments were constructed. Still farther advances were made possible by the invention and use of the double achromatic lens, by means of which the aberrations could be corrected and the telescope reduced in length to a convenient size. Then, another difficulty presented itself, to procure discs of glass which would be free from veins and striae, and at

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the same time homogeneous. Even towards the close of the last century it was impossible to secure suitable pieces of glass of more than six or seven inches in diameter, and these were often of a very inferior quality.

When, in 1825, the Dorpat refractor of nine and a half inches aperture was constructed, it was considered a masterpiece, and it was thought the limit had been reached. Guinand, however, had made better glass possible, and Fraunhofer better workmanship. As a consequence, there were constructed in 1845 two object glasses of fifteen inches aperture. But this limit was again surpassed when we succeeded in procuring discs for an eighteen and three-quarter inch glass, which were figured and sent to Chicago. Then followed the twenty-six inch lenses of the Washington and McCormick observatories, the thirty inch lens of the Pulkowa, and, finally, the great thirty-six inch lens of the Lick observatory.

It must be remembered that the ground had been disputed inch by inch, and that with each succeeding advance the limit of successful glass melting was thought to have been attained. Even quite recently a noted optician, speaking of the possibility of obtaining discs larger than thirty-six inches, said it appeared to him that the chances of obtaining forty inch discs in the present state of the art were remote. And yet there are now in my manufactory two remarkably fine discs of forty inches diameter ready for figuring. Who then shall set the limit to this phase of the art, considering the great possibilities of scientific improvement and advance of the present day, in view of what has been already accomplished?

But some one will ask: "How about giving a correct figure to such enormous lenses?" When one considers that all the rays of light passing through these great lenses must be brought to a focal point which a thread would far more than cover, and that the aberrations must be corrected at the same time, this question is not inapt. But I venture to say that by my method of local correction, lenses of any size can be figured and brought into shape with comparative ease. I do not mean to assert that the undertaking is not a great one, but it will, nevertheless, be crowned with success.

This method of local correction consists, in general terms, in first finding the defects of a lens by frequent optical tests during the process of figuring, and then eliminating them without intro-

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ducing others, by work at those points, the finest and most delicate work being done with the fingers. In this way a lens can be corrected wherever it becomes necessary, until absolute perfection is given to the image, and it is only by this method that I have been able to secure uniformly good results. With the monster telescopes of the present and future, however, the workmanship must, if possible, be even more critical, for, from the great size of the lenses any inherent difficulty will be still more aggravated. It may be, however, that the glass is not uniformly homogeneous, and that there is a slight increase in density over a small area of its surface. In this case by the method I have advocated, an excess of polishing and abrasion may be used at this point, the lens slightly flattened, and a perfect image secured. By this means the optician can render himself to a certain extent independent of the skill of the glass manufacturer, and a great disc with even a slight imperfection could be made to give a perfect result.

A question sometimes asked is: "Will not a great increase in the size of lenses necessitate so much increase in thickness that a large amount of light will be lost by absorption?" In reply, I would say, that we are a long way from experiencing anything very serious in this respect. The forty inch discs, already mentioned, have only a combined thickness of some four inches, and the lenses of an object glass of even six feet aperture would necessitate a combined thickness of not more than six inches. To be sure this increased thickness means some more absorption, but not to the extent that some suppose, especially with the best glass now obtainable.

An experiment made at my manufactory will perhaps best illustrate just what I mean. I took a block of dense flint glass nine inches thick and polished on both edges. Behind this was placed common newspaper print, while in front of it sat a party who ordinarily, although not invariably, used glasses in reading. Through this nine inches of dense glass, however, he was able with perfect ease to read the whole newspaper article by lamplight, and without optical aid. But this nine inches in thickness is, as I have already said, much more than is necessary for even a six foot lens, and who knows how soon still more transparent glass may be at hand, considering the steady improvement made in this line, and the fact that the present discs are infinitely superior to the early ones.

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But even supposing a slightly larger per cent. of light is lost by absorption per unit of surface in a six foot lens than in a three foot one, yet the area of the larger will be four times that of the smaller, so that the total amount of light must be vastly greater.

Besides, every one who has had experience in using telescopes knows, that even if two instruments of quite different sizes can both see the same object without trouble, the larger one has a decided advantage from the greater amount of light and the consequent increased ease and facility of seeing, which enables us to do better work. In illustration of the great light-collecting power of a large telescope, I may cite the fact that with the thirty-six inch refractor, eighteen nebulæ were discovered at the Lick observatory in a space only 16′ by 5′.5, and, more recently, a fifth satellite has been added to the planet Jupiter.

As regards the possible bending of great lenses under their own weight, although this sometimes occurs in a small degree, both sides are affected in a nearly compensatory manner, while in a mirror there is no such compensation. Any slight imperfection at any point on the surface of the lens, whether from defective workmanship or bending of the lens itself, produces much less error in the image than in the case of a reflector. The slightest imperfection of workmanship or distortion of the mirror from its own weight, as well as any difference of temperature between the front and back, will utterly ruin the image, while the performance of a lens would be much less affected by the same circumstances. Partly for this reason, reflecting telescopes very rarely give any such definition as refractors.

Then again, the refractor will give a much larger per cent. of the incident light than the speculum metal reflector. I speak of speculum metal reflectors because the difficulty of preserving the reflecting silver film on large silvered glass mirrors is so great, and the process of resilvering becomes so formidable, that I believe them to be impracticable.

From what I have said, as well as from other considerations, which it is not necessary to mention here, I have not the slightest doubt that our future advance must be along the line of the refracting telescope.

Until a comparatively recent date wooden tubes were used for telescopes, but these being sluggish as regards equalization of temperature, a star image was often defective and showed wings

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before all the parts of the telescope had acquired the same temperature. This defect, however, has been completely eliminated by the introduction of the metallic tube, which, with a minimum amount of weight, gives a maximum amount of stiffness and produces uniformity of temperature very rapidly.

But, in order that the object glass, as its size becomes so great, should also rapidly assume and constantly maintain uniformity of temperature in all its parts, I have separated the crown and flint lenses in construction so as to allow a free circulation of air between them. In the Lick telescope this separation amounts to some six inches with holes in the sides of the cell, thus allowing a free circulation of air between the lenses.

Thus we have to-day a refracting telescope that has steadily grown in size with increasing perfection in all its parts, and which has, beyond question, a still greater future before it. What the pledge of the past has been, the future will fulfil. What, then, are the possibilities of accomplishment for these great telescopes of the future ?

We may answer that they will do great work anywhere, although much depends on the circumstances in which they are placed. For the finest work they should have good atmospheric conditions, but these may be obtained at various places throughout the world, both at ordinary as well as higher altitudes. When used under such conditions much will be added to our present knowledge of astronomy.

The great and rapid strides which have lately been made in astrophysics, principally in the line of photometry, photography and spectroscopy, added to the vast amount of work which will always remain to be done in the older astronomy of motion, opens a field for the most powerful means of research. These monster telescopes may be characterized as the great light-collectors and space-penetrators of the universe, and their province, the solution of the ultimate problems of science.

ALVAN G. CLARK.

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DOES THE REPUBLICAN PARTY NEED RE-ORGANIZATION?

BY SENATOR JOSEPH N. DOLPH, OF OREGON.

THERE has been some talk, since the result of the late Presidential election became known, concerning the necessity for a re-organization of the Republican party. Just what is meant by re-organization is not clear. If it is only proposed that changes shall be made in the methods of conducting political campaigns, in order to secure a better canvass and more accurate information as to the political affiliations or preferences of electors; to bring those who are temporarily charged with the management of the campaign and the party leaders into touch with the masses, and to provide a more effective means for reaching the individual voter, no one will question the necessity.

We have, as a people, largely outgrown spectacular campaign methods. Political campaign speeches no longer produce the effect they once did. Effective campaign work in the future requires educational and intellectual methods, thoroughly organized local committees and intelligently directed local effort. If, however, this suggestion of a necessity for the re-organization of the party is but a form of complaint against the managers of the late contest, or if it is intended as a reflection upon the capacity and fidelity of party leaders, National or State, the imputation is not justified by facts.

There is no good reason for attributing the defeat of the Republican party to the mismanagement of those who were in charge of the campaign. To do this would be to belittle the struggle through which we have just passed and to overlook the real causes of defeat. Nor is the defeat, in my judgment, justly chargeable to the protective tariff policy or other policies of the Republican party. The principles of the party have not changed

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since 1888, when they were endorsed by the people in the election of Mr. Harrison.

Neither can defeat be justly attributed to the re-nomination of Mr. Harrison. Even his political opponents concede his ability and the strength and marked individuality of his administration, which has been conducted with fidelity to the principles of his party, and which will pass into history as one of the ablest, purest and most successful this country has ever had. Whatever may be their party affiliations all Americans can point with pride to President Harrison as a typical American.

The cause of defeat lies deeper than any I have mentioned. There is and has been for some time throughout the entire country a feeling of discontent, which has manifested itself in many ways. It defeated the Republican party in 1884, overthrew the Cleveland Administration in 1888, and again reversed the popular verdict in 1892.

This spirit of unrest, this warfare with existing conditions, in which "Past and to come seem best and things present worst," is not confined to this country, but is manifest everywhere, finding more vigorous expression in the great centres of population, such as gave the large Democratic majorities at the late election. If this discontent were only local the cause of it might be attributed to party policy, but as it is widely diffused throughout the civilized world and is to be found in places where conditions are altogether dissimilar, in absolute monarchies and republics alike, it cannot be charged to any party.

There were no doubt minor causes which contributed to the result of the late election. But the principal cause appears to have been this widespread discontent, the visible manifestations of which were mainly the hostility of labor to capital and opposition to the party charged for the time being with the enforcement of the laws and the maintenance of order. By its real or supposed grievances against capital the discontented laboring element was prepared to charge all its alleged wrongs to existing conditions. Domestic competition has been for years steadily forcing down the prices of the products of human labor and reducing the income derived from capital invested in productive industries, while laborers have demanded and secured increased wages and fewer hours of work. Under these conditions the conflicts between labor and capital which have taken place were inevitable,

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and naturally resulted in a tendency of the laboring classes to ally themselves with the party which has persistently charged all labor troubles to the policy of the party in power.

The Republican tariff policy is designed for the protection of American capital, as well as of American labor, so as to secure the investment of capital in industries which give employment to labor and secure fair wages to the laborer. Labor appears to have arrayed itself against the party of protection because capital shared in the beneficent results of the protective policy, and it must be left to learn by experience what it cannot be taught by precept. It will soon learn that every blow aimed at American industries will fall heaviest upon American labor.

It could hardly be expected that the experience of one generation would be sufficient for two succeeding ones. Further experience under free trade seems to be now necessary to convince the people of this country that the protective system is indispensable to national and individual prosperity.

If, again, by the re-organization of the Republican party is meant the abandonment of those principles of the party which are supposed to have met with popular disapproval, such a re-organization is impossible. It would involve a final dissolution of the party. Any party which can adopt new principles to meet every chance emergency, and which has no higher aim than public plunder, is not worthy to receive, and cannot hope long to retain, the support of that portion of the country without which no party can succeed. It has been gravely suggested that the Republican party should seek success by an abandonment or a modification of its position upon the tariff, by the adoption of some modified financial proposition which would satisfy a supposed popular demand, or by a formal declaration against federal control of federal elections. The Republican party must look for success in the triumph of its principles, and not by trimming its sails to catch every popular breeze.

The results of elections in this country, owing to election methods in vogue in some portions of the Union, cannot be accepted as intelligent and deliberate expressions of the popular will, and if they could, it is better for parties, as well as for individuals, to be in the minority and be right, than to be wrong and be with the majority. To abandon the tenets of the party because of an occasional adverse popular verdict would be

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to invite contempt and to court destruction. Popular opinion is not always right. History proves that the "Hosanna" of yesterday is often the cruel and malevolent "Crucify him!" of to-day. As has been said, "He who in this nineteenth century echoes the cry that the voice of the multitude is the voice of God is just the man who, if he had been born two thousand years ago, would have been the loudest and hoarsest in that cringing crowd of slaves who bowed before a prince invested with the delegated majesty of Rome and cried, It is the voice of God and not of man."

If the principles of the Republican party are right, instead of abandoning them or wavering in its purposes, it should be true to them, and let disorganizing elements slough off, until, with united ranks, it is prepared to achieve victory, or, if necessary for the sake of its principles, to suffer defeat again.

If free trade, free coinage or any of the current wild financial and other visionary schemes are to prevail, it will not be under Republican rule. Republicans believe that "the greatest friend of truth is time," and expect Republican principles to vindicate themselves. They confidently believe that the experience of the people under one Democratic administration, with no obstacle in the way of carrying out its policy, will be sufficient to cause the reversal of the popular verdict, and place the Republican party again in power.

The Republican party in the future, as in the past, must be courageous and aggressive for the right. As it believes that the prosperity of the country requires that every dollar of our currency, whether of gold, silver or paper, shall be of equal purchasing and debt-paying power, it will in the future as in the past be found contending for honest money. As it believes that our history as a nation teaches that all our national and individual prosperity has been the result of the protective policy, it will be found advocating protection of American industries. It will adhere to its position in favor of pure and fair elections. Whatever differences of opinion there may be concerning the expediency of legislation to extend to all the electors of the United States, in the exercise of the right of suffrage at federal elections, the protection of the laws of the United States, the Republican party is not likely to abandon the position either that Congress has constitutional power to enact such legislation or that it is now necessary for the protection of the political rights of citizens.

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The federal government was formed by and for all the people of the Union and it is supreme within the limitations of the federal constitution in all the States and over every citizen of the Republic. The power to preserve its constitutional prerogatives and to see that the electors of the Union are not deprived of their constitutional right to control and give direction to the federal government has not only been wisely but necessarily conferred upon Congress, and the grant of power carries with it the duty of its exercise when necessary.

Above all, the Republican party will continue to stand, as it has always stood, as a bulwark against all efforts to minimize the power of the national government, as the inheritor of the principles of the great men who formed the constitution and secured its adoption, as the exponent of the views of the great Chief Justice, John Marshall, concerning the constitutional powers of the States and of the federal government,—of those great principles which he annunciated and which to-day give life and vigor to the federal constitution and power to the national government to do the things which are necessary for the national prosperity and the welfare of the people.

The Republican party, wedded to truth, duty, and patriotism, needs but to be true to itself. It needs no re-organization which involves an abandonment of its principles or a change of its purposes. In any declaration of principles the party must go forward and not backward. During its entire history it has resolutely grappled with new questions as they have arisen and may be expected to do so in the future. I will not venture to predict the advance steps which the party may be expected to take, but will suggest a matter which might well be made prominent in the next declaration of party principles. It is the subject of immigration, now demanding the serious consideration of the American people. The rush of foreigners to our shores is so great and the immigration is of such a character as seriously to test our powers of assimilation if not to menace our institutions. The annual increase by immigration of artisans, mechanics and laborers causes undue competition with labor in this country. Some effective legislation is demanded for the preservation of American institutions and the protection of American labor.

On the 4th of March next the Democratic party will assume full responsibility for the national administration. The Repub-

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lican party will retire from the administration with a record of which it need not be ashamed, and which will grow brighter as time advances. It will await with confidence that vindication of its principles which time is sure to bring, and which a trial of Democratic policy will hasten.

The late contest was understood on both sides to be mainly between the tariff policies of the two great parties. The success of the Republican party, it was believed, would insure the continuance of the protective policy for another four years; the success of the Democratic party, it was supposed, would insure a trial of the Democratic tariff policy, as declared in its national platform. If a reversal of the present tariff policy does not take place when the Democratic party comes into control of both branches of Congress, it will be apparent that the party has come into power under false pretences, conclusive evidence that its assaults upon the Republican economical and financial policies were made for political effect only, and that it was not sincere in its declaration of principles in its national platform.

Prompt action by the incoming administration will be better for the country than delay. If free trade is a good thing for the country we cannot have it too soon. If it is not, that can now be satisfactorily shown only by experience. If the Democratic party does not intend to overthrow the protective system, the sooner that fact is demonstrated the better. The threat to our industries by the declaration in its national platform and by its success cannot fail to have a demoralizing effect upon our industries. In fact, such an effect is already apparent. It would be far better that the threatened blow should fall at once, or the fear of it be removed at once, than that the business of the country should be indefinitely held in suspense and apprehension.

It is idle for the Democratic party to seek to evade the responsibility incident to its lease of power or the consequences of a practical test of its principles. Those who have been made to believe that a protective tariff is a fraud and a robbery of the consumer will naturally demand speedy relief from the alleged burdens imposed by the present tariff laws. After years of discussion of the tariff question and of denunciation of the present tariff laws, they will not be satisfied with being assured that "nothing will be done rashly" or with the statement that it will take an indefinite time and protracted investigation to determine

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what legislation is desirable. They will demand that a special session of Congress be called by the incoming administration to enact tariff legislation and that the country shall not be left longer than necessary under the alleged burdens of Republican tariff and financial legislation.

For years the discussion of almost all political questions has led up to, or has been diverted to, the tariff, and nearly all the evils in this country, trusts, strikes, monopolies, the unequal distribution of wealth, the depression of agriculture, farm mortgages, low wages, poverty, corrupt elections and bad government, have been persistently charged to the protective policy by Democratic orators, in and out of Congress, and by the Democratic press. If now, when the Democratic party has the power to destroy, with a blow, this alleged cause of so many evils, it does not do it, the farmers and laborers, who have been made to believe that a tariff for revenue will bring them prosperity, will insist on knowing why the protective policy has in the eyes of the Democratic leaders suddenly become too sacred for the profane touch of Democracy.

The Democratic party will find that cowardice and inaction will be as dangerous as fidelity to its principles, and that whatever policy it pursues will lead to its discomfiture and the restoration of the Republican party to power.

JOSEPH N. DOLPH.

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SOLUTIONS OF THE LABOR PROBLEM.

BY DAVID DUDLEY FIELD AND OREN B. TAFT.

I. INDUSTRIAL COÖPERATION.

BY DAVID DUDLEY FIELD.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for May 1885 contained a paper of mine on industrial coöperation, in which I gave the outlines of a scheme which appeared to me feasible for reconciling capital and labor. Some criticisms upon the scheme lead me now to follow up the discussion.

Are we any nearer a reconciliation between capital and labor than we were a decade ago? So far from it, there is apparently greater antagonism than there ever was, or rather, I should say, there is greater display of antagonism. Why is it so? Certainly men are improving in intelligence. Is it because the problem is unsolvable? This I do not believe.

There are several reasons why the progress has been so slow. The first and greatest is the action of the workmen themselves in resorting to violence and annoyance in order to gain their ends. By workmen I mean all those who contribute to material products by the labor of their hands alone, whether they be called laborers, wage-earners, or operators. These form a large class in themselves, though they are a minority, and a small minority, of the whole population. Their great mistake has been, as I have said, in resorting to violence. Rare must be the occasions in any civilized country when violent methods can serve a useful purpose in the redress of wrongs. But here, where manhood suffrage prevails, everything can be obtained by law, so far as it is within the domain of law. So large a body of voters as the wage-earners will be sure to obtain by the suffrage all that suffrage can force from the government of the country. Violence is therefore unnecessary. It is moreover impolitic, because it alienates the majority.

Workmen should learn this lesson: That they cannot succeed against the wishes of the rest of the people. Read a page or two out of recent history. It is not very long since a railway train

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was stopped without previous notice in a tunnel at New York by the desertion of the engineers half a mile or so from the station. The train bore men, women and children, some persons perhaps in feeble health. The stoppage of the train under such circumstances was a work worthy of brigands. It inflicted grievous wrong on unoffending persons in order to coerce the railway company. Two months ago strikers at Homestead violently opposed the landing of the Pinkerton men from barges on the Monongahela, fired on them, and attempted to cover the water with oil and set it on fire. Later on, at Buffalo, cars were set on fire and rails torn up. In New York walking delegates entered buildings in the course of construction, and the workmen obeyed, like so many slaves, breaking their engagements and bringing the work to a stand-still. In Tennessee, miners, who opposed the employment of convicts in the mines, being unable, or not attempting, to procure a repeal of the law directing such employment, sought by arson and murder to prevent its enforcement. In the States of Tennessee, Pennsylvania and New York the militia was called out by thousands to repress the disorders, causing much hardship to the soldiers and much expense to the States or their municipalities. Do the men who create these troubles imagine that they can thus coerce a free and gallant people? They may go on thus for a season, but they will come to naught in the end, because their conduct is incompatible with the order of society, and all the instincts of manhood are against them.

How many American citizens were engaged in these disorders I do not know. A report of a speech made in Congress states that in the crowd which insulted and abused the captive Pinkertons were foreign women and children. If these foreigners come here to break our laws, we had better punish them first and then send them back whence they came. All these disturbers of the peace, foreign or native, acted in defiance of law, those in New York in defiance of express provisions of the Penal Code.

Now then, if we eliminate annoyance, menace and violence from the controversy between capital and labor, what are the means by which we may hope to reconcile them? Compulsory arbitration will not avail. The hiring of labor is, in its essence, a contract of sale. The employer buys the labor and the laborer sells it. If the State should attempt to fix the price in this transaction, it might for the same reason fix the price of land or corn

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or any other commodity in any other sale. This would be despotism, and no modern society would submit to it. We may as well first as last assume that the hirer and the hired *must agree between themselves*. This is fundamental. The moment it becomes established that the State, that is the body of citizens, may decree the price of labor, that moment the reign of the commune begins. It would take but a few years, under this theory of paternal government, to gather to itself all business and all fortunes. Who can foretell what evils may befall us when we once fall into the grasp of this new octopus of man's creation? *Obsta principus.*

What, then, can the State do? What could the law accomplish if the wisest heads in the country were called in to advise? There is in my opinion one way, and one way only; and that is, by all means in its power to induce the capitalist and the workman to act in harmony. How can this be effected? The State cannot compel the individual citizen to take his workmen into any kind of partnership; but it may compel those to whom it grants corporate franchises for purposes of profit to accept the franchises on condition of giving the workman an interest in the product. A very great share of modern enterprises is undertaken by corporations. They are the creations of the State, and if they take grants they must submit to the terms of the grantor.

Let us imagine such an establishment as I suggest. Suppose a factory to be chartered, with a capital of a million of dollars divided into two hundred thousand shares of five dollars each, three-fifths of them to be payable in cash or property, as at present, and two-fifths in prospective labor; the former to be invested in land, buildings, machinery, and whatever else may be necessary for such an undertaking, and the latter reserved for such workmen as may be taken into the concern; the skilled workmen to be allowed wages, say, for illustration, at the highest rates of the market, four dollars a day or more, and the unskilled two dollars a day, and each one to be registered for four hundred shares. If the earnings were six per cent. on the capital each skilled workman would be credited in twelve months, that is to say for 300 days' work, with $1,200 for wages and $120 for profit. Deducting $500 for his supplies, including food, clothing, and lodging, there would be left to his credit at the end of the year $820, which would pay for a hundred and sixty-four shares of the stock. He would then have had his living and become the owner of a hundred and sixty-

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four shares of the company. In the next year he would acquire a hundred and sixty-four additional shares, and in less than three years would have more than paid for all the four hundred. The rate of wages, the supplies furnished, the admission and dismissal of share-workers, and the discipline of the establishment should be vested in all the shareholders, actual or expectant, while the financial department, and the purchases and sales, should be in the hands of the cash or property shareholders. Capital and labor would thus be brought into closer communion, and made to lean on each other. To this end the requirement of a cash or property capital would be in part dispensed with, and instead of it an obligation to labor accepted. The share-workman must have the means of living while he is earning the price of his shares. He must be enabled to live as cheaply as possible, by having his supplies furnished at the lowest price. He must have fair wages, and withal reasonable maintenance, and the prospect of bettering his condition by becoming a participant in the profits of the combined labor and capital. But all concerned should have the power of superintending the conduct of the workmen, choosing between applicants and dismissing the idle or incompetent, recompensing them, of course, for what they have already earned and saved.

Is such a scheme as this an idle dream? Something like it has been tried in other countries. Any one who has shopped at the Bon Marché in Paris, may have been struck with the refusal of the shopboy who brought a parcel to the carriage in the street, to take the usual gratuity, bowing his head with thanks, as if to say, I am a part proprietor in this establishment.

One objection I have heard made to such a scheme is, that the share-worker will have to run the risk of losses. That, however, is only what the share-capitalist has to meet, and if the workman is as well off as the capitalist, there will be small reason to complain. It might be stipulated, however, that the workman should in any event retain the portion of his wages set apart for his living, or he might insure his share to a greater or less extent, paying therefor a premium not greater than he now pays to his union or other society of workmen.

Another objection that I have heard is that the scheme proposed would benefit only skilled workmen, those whose wages would naturally exceed their cost of living. That would depend, of course, upon the price of the unskilled workman's labor. At all

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events the scheme would benefit the skilled workman, and thus create an incentive to the unskilled to perfect himself in his art.

What could the State do for the encouragement of such a coöperation of capital and labor? Simply change the statutes respecting corporations, so as to provide for the division of the shares of corporations formed for profit into small parcels within the reach of workmen, and fill up a few details. Consult the history of coöperative societies in other countries. The problem has been largely worked out there. If we can solve the problem fully, we shall confer a great benefit on all classes of our people.

I have great sympathy with the workingmen, which even their outbreaks of violence have not extinguished, though they have saddened it. If I thought that the workmen would listen to me, I would say to them: Be brave, but be peaceable; you have in the ballot a weapon stronger than the sword or the right arm; remember that many a present millionaire was not long ago a workman like you; your surest reliance is on the sympathy of your countrymen, on prudent counsels and the rapid march of time.

DAVID DUDLEY FIELD.

II. LABOR ORGANIZATIONS IN LAW.

BY OREN B. TAFT.

A CONSIDERATION of the labor problem must recognize the following facts:

1. That there are three interests involved—the commonwealth or social fabric, capital, and labor; that all these are or must be invested with both duties and rights, defined by law both for their defence and as a means of compelling the discharge of responsibilities. Capital has already an existence in the statutes, enabling it to enforce, as well as to defend, its rights. Having such existence it may be compelled to discharge its duties. Labor itself must have a legal standing of like importance, and for the same reasons. The commonwealth has the right to enact any statute restricting organizations that so disturb affairs as to threaten society; it has the duty of providing for, and enforcing as law, the rights and duties belonging to capital and labor in their relations one to the other.

2. All interests involved must reckon upon the expanding and inspiring influence of the American political and social idea; this country began its career by declaring that all men are born

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equal; there was to be no law save that of ability and opportunity to stand between what any man has rightfully accomplished and what any other might; it made each man the peer of every other for every lawful personal interest he might have. Under this influence so rapidly have men gone from the employed to the employer that the distinction in rank has almost disappeared.

3. A third fact which must be kept in view is that labor, competent to organize and direct itself, is something more than a commodity; that the nature of both capital and labor is such that neither may safely be regardless of the rights of the other. All capital has its origin in labor. Labor is vitally dependent on capital. To treat labor as a thing to be bought in the cheapest market, is to treat it as a commodity and not as a man. The public, the commonwealth, sees in this labor a citizen in whom it has a valid interest, and whatever unmans him is inimical to capital itself, to labor and to the commonwealth.

It is also true that labor has grown intelligent and is taking this new view of itself; that if the mind of the individual to whom it belongs is sufficiently intelligent to comprehend the purpose and enter into the spirit of the work which he is called upon to do, with that same relative degree of intelligence and faithfulness which his own part bears to that of the intelligence, capital, and effort furnished by his employer, his recompense should bear a like relative return; and, further, that it is not a privilege, but an inherent right belonging to him that he be consulted, and his own intelligence be allowed to enter into any consideration that has to do with that labor. More than this, labor has grown intelligent of the fact that there is a vast difference between the lack of friction with which capital attains its legitimate ends, and that with which labor attains its ends; that all the machinery of State stands ready to protect and further the interests of capital, while labor is left absolutely without law, a law unto itself, save when it commits some act, to be dealt with as a criminal; that there is no recognition in law of intelligent labor, capable of directing itself, as a something to be developed, capable of undertaking enterprises, of assuming responsibilities and an ability to guarantee its undertakings.

These facts recognized they become evidence that we are on the eve of one of those rare events, when in the evolution of commercial economy an entirely new factor is to come into affairs; when or-

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ganized labor is to take its place in law and the courts by the side of, and be the equal of, capital, with like legal recognition, advantages, encouragement, and with none the less of its responsibilities and liabilities, willing to imperil the liberty of its person as the guarantee for its good conduct.

Intelligent organized labor is ready to consider with capital and the general public, and equally well to comprehend, such propositions as the following:

I. That it will not do for labor to have reason to believe capital has a more solid standing in law than labor.

II. But capital has a more valid existence so far as statutes and courts are concerned, because in making contracts with labor, it has such possessions as may be reached by law in case of failure to execute its contracts.

III. It obtains this position of power in law, only by having made the concession of an unrestricted liberty with its own capital after having failed to perform its obligation recognized by law. For a standing place in the law, under a commonwealth stronger than all parties to any contract, capital voluntarily permits itself to be sued, to be annulled, to lose the right to do business, to be confiscated, if needs be, to make good its contracts.

IV. The anomaly and weakness of the social order with labor not a like factor in law, is, that only one party in a contract made between capital and labor is in any valid way liable to suffer a penalty, in the form of damages for non-performance. There is nothing in the laborer until he becomes in some sense a capitalist to make him a valid person in the courts; until then he has no right to ask the commonwealth to inflict penalty upon capital since he has no capital of his own to be confiscated in a similar case.

V. A law ought to be made which would recognize the facts. The facts are, that the laborer is a capitalist, his capital is *his own person—himself*. In a contract he offers on his part *himself* to do a certain amount of labor.

VI. The laborer who enters into a contract with capital will not occupy the same standing place in common justice and law until, according to statute, it cedes to the same third party, the commonwealth, as representative of the public and social order, the full power in the same certain case to restrict it, to confiscate it. It must be legal for the commonwealth to confiscate capital, as it is; and for the same government, in the same interests, to imprison labor, unless it shall offer a money equivalent, whenever the possibility of fulfilling contract is frustrated voluntarily.

The remedy proposed, then, restricting this question at this time to organized labor, is the enactment of a law providing for the existence of labor organizations, and permitting none to exist after a proper time except under that law.

In outlines, the suggestions for such a law would be something as follows:

Any number of persons more than (say) five in number, who may desire to form a society, organization or corporation, whose purpose shall be to promote the interests of its members in the joint control and management

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of their labor, in whatever pertains to such labor, as wages, time, etc., shall be required to file (with the proper officer of the State, to be determined in forming this law) a certificate, signed by all its members, stating its object, including the kind of labor proposed to be done, and its ability to perform it, where located, etc.; such certificate to state the full name, age, residence, and the married or single condition of each member. This certificate shall also be recorded in the county where such organization is located, and if it does business in more than one county, then in every such county; all changes in membership or residence to be made a matter of record within five days; no withdrawal to be allowed during existing contracts entered into by the organization.

This corporation shall in law be capable of suing and being sued, have and use a common seal; shall have a board of managers with power, under restrictions to be determined, of making contracts involving the time, wages, and labor of all or any portion of its members, as comprehended within the purpose for which organized. The membership being a voluntary one, with a declared ability to perform its contracts, the courts shall be given power to enforce the labor of its members, jointly or severally, as the case may be, in the fulfilment of any contract, to the extent of imprisonment in case of failure or refusal, the health and physical ability at the time, if pleaded, to be a matter within the discretion of the court, the usual proper means of determining the same being used. A desertion from the organization, failure to respond to summons, or taking oneself beyond the jurisdiction of the court, pending any adjudication, to be a contempt of court, shal. be punishable by imprisonment or fine or both, in the discretion of the court, with power to reach the person in any of the States permitting it or having adopted the law; a money equivalent for the person in the guarantee of any contract under consideration in court always to be accepted, the principle being that the person of the laborer (it being his capital) is held only as an offset for the capital of the employer, which is money or its equivalent.

All existing associations, societies, or organizations, known as, or in the nature of, "Federations of Labor" shall be declared unlawful, after giving them a proper time, say three or six months, in which to reorganize if they so wish, under the new law. The members of such existing organizations after such a time has expired, if not disbanded, or having complied with the law, shall be subject to arrest and a penalty by imprisonment to be inflicted as may be determined.

In proposing this remedy, whether the infliction of imprisonment upon the person of the laborer, who, after voluntarily becoming a member of a legally-organized labor association, then of his own volition refuses to furnish his capital—that is, his ability to labor—in compliance with a contract, is constitutional or not, has not entered into this present consideration, under the view that the problem is important enough to warrant constitutional changes if necessary to a satisfactory solution.

OREN B. TAFT.

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FLIRTING WIVES.

BY MRS. AMELIA E. BARR.

IF SOME good and thoughtful woman who died fifty years ago could return to this world, what in our present life would most astonish her? Would it be the wonders of steam, electricity, and science; the tyranny of the working classes, or the autocracy of servants? No! It would be the amazing development of her own sex—the preaching, lecturing, political women; the women who are doctors and lawyers; who lose and win money on horses, or in stocks and real estate; the women who talk slang, and think it an accomplishment; who imitate men's attire and manners; who do their athletic exercises in public; and, perhaps more astonishing than all, the women who make marriage the cloak for much profitable post-nuptial flirtation.

For her own sex engaged in business, she might find excuses or even admiration; and even for the unfeminine girls of the era, she might plead Mrs. Poyser's opinion, that "the women are made to suit the men." But for young wives notorious for their flirting and their "followers," she could have nothing but unqualified scorn and condemnation. For the sentiment demanding absolute fidelity in a wife may be said to have the force of a human instinct; in all ages it has exacted from her an avoidance of the very appearance of evil. Therefore a good woman in the presence of a frivolous flirting wife feels as if a law of nature were being broken before her eyes; since behind the wife stands the possible mother, and the claims of family, race and caste, as well as of conjugal honor, are all in her keeping.

Without any exaggeration it may be said that wife-errantry is now as common as knight-errantry once was. The young men of to-day have discovered the personal advantage and safety there is in the society of another man's wife. They transpose an old

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proverb, and practically say: "Fools marry, and wise men follow their wives." For, if the husband be only complacent, it is such a safe thing to flirt with a pretty wife. Young girls are dangerous and might lure them into matrimony; but they have no fear of bigamy. They can whisper sweet words to a gay, married flirt; they can walk, and talk, and dance, and ride with her; they can lounge in her dusky drawing-room or in her opera box, and no one will ask them the reason why, or make any suggestion about their "intentions."

How far this custom affects the morals of the woman is not at first obvious; but we must insist on this recognized premise: "Society has laid down positive rules regarding the modesty of women, and apart from these rules it is hard to believe modesty can exist. For all conventional social laws are founded on principles of good morals and good sense; and to violate them without a sufficient reason destroys nicety of feeling, sweetness of mind, and self-respect." It is no excuse to say that propriety is old-maidish, and that men like smart women, or that no harm is intended by their flirtations. The question is: Can married women preserve their delicacy of thought and their nobleness of manner; can they be truly loyal to their husbands and to themselves throughout the different phases of a recognized flirtation? It is an impossible thing.

Suppose a beautiful girl to be wooed and won by a man in every way suitable to her desires. She has accepted his love and his name, and vowed to cleave to him, and to him only, till death parts them. The wooing has been mainly done in full dress, at balls and operas, or in hours tingling with the expectancy of such conditions. The aroma of roses, the rustle of silks and laces, the notes of music, the taste of bon-bons and sparkling wines, were the atmosphere; and the days and weeks went by to the sense of flying feet in a ball room, or to enchanted loiterings in greenhouses, and behind palms and flowers on decorated stairways.

The young wife is unwilling to believe that marriage has other and graver duties. She has been taught to live in the present only, and she is, therefore, cynical and apathetic concerning all things but dress and amusements. The husband has to return to business, which has been somewhat neglected; arrears of duty are to be met. He feels it necessary to attend to the question of supplies; he is, likely, a little embarrassed by the long holiday of wooing

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and honeymooning, and he would be grateful for some retrenchment and retirement, for the purpose of home-making.

The young wife has no such intentions; she resents and contradicts them on every occasion; and after the first pang of disappointment is over, he finds it the most prudent and comfortable plan to be indifferent to her continued frivolity. He is perhaps even flattered to find her so much admired; perhaps, in his heart, rather thankful to be relieved from the trouble of admiring her. As for any graver thoughts, he concludes that his wife is no worse than A's and B's and C's wives: that she is quite able to take care of herself, and that in a multitude of adorers there is safety.

Thus, in a majority of cases, begins the career of the married flirt. But the character is not a corollary of marriage, if the proper conditions were present when the wife was a young woman. There is no salvation in the Order of Matrimony; no miracles wrought at the altar of Grace Church, or at St. Thomas's. She that is frivolous, giddy, and selfish is likely to continue frivolous, giddy, and selfish; and marriage merely supplies her with a wider field and greater opportunities for the indulgence of her vanity and greed.

She reënters society with every advantage of youth, beauty, wealth, and liberty; released from the disabilities under which unmarried girls lie; armed with new powers to dazzle and to conquer. No longer a competitor for a matrimonial prize, she is a rival ten times more dangerous than she was. Setting aside the wrong done to the sacredness of the connubial relation, she now becomes the most subtle enemy to the prospects of all the unmarried girls in her set. What is the bud to the perfect rose? The timid, blushing maiden pales and subsides before the married siren who has the audacity and charm of a conscious intelligence. It is not without good reason that special balls and parties have come into fashion for social buds; they are the necessary sequence to the predominance of married sirens, with whom in a mixed society no young girl can cope. They have the floor and the partners; they monopolize all the attention, and their pleasure is of the greatest importance. And their pleasure is to flirt—to flirt in all places and at all hours.

In vain will some young aspirant to marriage display in the presence of the married flirt her pretty accomplishments. She may sing her songs, and play her mandolin never so sweetly, but

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the young men slip away with some one or other of the piquant brides of the past year. And in the privacy of the smoking-room it is the brides, and not the young girls, who are talked about—what dresses they wear or are likely to wear, how their hair is done, the history of the jewels which adorn them, and the clever thingsthey have said or implied.

Before we condemn too much the society girls of the time, we ought to consider the new enemy who stands in the way of their advancement to marriage. Is it not quite natural that the most courageous girls should refuse the secondary place to which married flirts assign them, and endeavor to meet these invaders with their own weapons? If so, much of the forwardness of the present young girl is traceable to the necessity forced upon her by these married competitors. For it is a fact that young men go to the latter for advice and sympathy. They tell them about the girls they like, and their fancies are nipped in the bud. For the married flirt's first instinct is to divest all other women of that air of romance, with which the nobility and chivalry of men have invested womanhood for centuries. So she points out with a pitiless exactness all the small arts which other women use; and is not only a rival to some young girl, but a traitor to her whole sex.

And yet she is not only tolerated but indulged. People giving entertainments know that their success will be in a large measure dependent upon the number of beautiful young wives present. They know the situation is all wrong, but they are sure they cannot either fight the wrong, or put it right; and in the meantime their particular ball will not increase the evil very much. Not fifty years ago, it was the young beauties that were considered and looked after, and the gentlemen asked to an entertainment were asked with reference to the unmarried girls; for it was understood that any married women present would, of course, be wrapped up in their own husbands. Then a wife accepting attentions from one young man after another would have aroused the contempt and disapproval of every man and woman present.

Vanity in the first place leads young wives to flirting, but grosser motives soon follow. For whatever other experiences matrimony brings, it generally stimulates a woman's love of money; and the married siren soon makes her "followers" understand that she is "a very practical little woman, and does

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not care for a sonnet, or a serenade, or a bouquet of fresh flowers." A summer's cruise in a fine yacht, a seat on a coach, an opera box, a jewel, dinners, drives and luncheons, are the blackmail which the married flirt expects, in return for her sighs, sentiment, and advice.

It is indeed curious to note the change of fashion in this respect. Let any one turn over the novels of half a century ago, and he will see that the favorite plan for compromising a woman's honor was to induce her to accept the loan of money, or the gift of jewels. If the unfortunate heroine did so, no novelist would have dared to offer an apology for her. But this age of luxury and laxity has exploded the scrupulous delicacy of the Evelinas and Cecilias of the old tales, and the splendidly free, feminine Uhlans of our modern society laugh to scorn the prim modesty of the Richardsonian standard. They assert, if not in words yet by their actions, the right of a woman to make her fascinations serviceable to her.

Some married women contend that their flirtations are absolutely innocent friendships. But in all stations of society, it is a dangerous thing for two people of the opposite sex to chant together the litany of the church of Plato. The two who could do it safely would be the very two who would never dream of such an imprudence. Those who enter into "friendships" of this kind with what they think are the most innocent intentions, should sharply arrest themselves as soon as they are "talked about." For in social judgments, the dictum that "people talked about, generally get what they deserve" is true, however unjust it may appear to be.

Another class of married flirts scorn to make any apology, or any pretence of mere friendship. They stand upon the emancipation of women, and the right of one sex to as much liberty as the other. This kind of siren boldly says: "She does not intend to be a slave like her mother, and her grandmother. She does not propose to tie herself, either to a house or a cradle." She travels, she lives in yachts and hotels, and she does not include a nursery in her plans. She talks of elective affinities, natural emotions of the heart, and contrasts the opportunities of such conditions, with the limitations and the monotony of domestic relations. She makes herself valueless for the very highest natural duties of womanhood, and then talks of her enfranchisement! Yes,

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she has her freedom, and what does it mean? More dresses and jewelry, more visits and journeys; while the whole world of parental duties, and domestic tendernesses, lies in ruins at her feet.

The relegation of the married flirt to her proper sphere and duties is beyond the power of any single individual. Society could make the necessary protest, but it does not; for if Society is anything, it is non-interfering. It looks well to it, that the outside, the general public appearance of its members, is respectable; with faults not found out, it does not trouble itself. A charge must be definitely made, before it feels any necessity to take cognizance of it. And Society knows well, that these married sirens draw like magnets. Besides, each entertainer declares: "I am not my sister's keeper, nor am I her Inquisitor or Confessor. If her husband tolerates the pretty woman's vagaries, what right have I, what right has any one, to say a word about her?"

But it is a fact, that if Society frowned on wives who arrogate to themselves the privileges both of young girls and of wives, the custom would become stale and offensive. If it would cease to recognize young married women who are on the terms with their husbands described by Millamant in "The Way of World"—"as strange as if they had been married a long time, and as well bred as if they had never been married at all," young married women would behave themselves better. It is generally thought that Mr. Congreve wrote his plays for a very dissolute age; in reality, they seem to have been written for a decorous, rather strait-laced generation, if we compare it with our own.

AMELIA E. BARR.

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HIGH CASTE INDIAN MAGIC.

BY PROF. H. KELLAR.

FIFTEEN years spent in India and the far East have convinced me that the high caste fakirs, or magicians, of Northern India have probably discovered natural laws of which we in the West are ignorant. That they succeed in overcoming forces of nature which to us seem insurmountable, my observation satisfies me beyond doubt.

No topic of the marvellous has excited more general interest and remained in greater obscurity than Hindoo jugglery. Discussion has, through a confusion of terms, lent to the subject a vagueness which it might otherwise have escaped. Magic is defined as "the art of putting in action the power of spirits, or the occult powers of nature"; so it seems proper to use the term magician, in speaking of the esoteric marvel worker, in the sense of a human being who is able to put in action "the occult powers of nature."

News of the strange performances of the Hindoo magicians has reached the West for centuries. Marco Polo's stories of their feats, though at first received in Europe with some credence, afterwards served to foster the impression that he was the willing victim of delusion. The tales of the Crusaders rivalled those told of the achievements of the great Merlin, and we glean from the exploits of Thomas of Ercildoune and the wizards of the North glimpses of what may be the reflected potency of the Tibetan esoterics. Yet, through a thousand years of rumor, the high caste fakir has succeeded in preserving the secret of his powers, which have on more than one occasion baffled my deepest scrutiny, and remained the inexplicable subject of my lasting wonder and admiration.

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When I appeared before Queen Victoria, at Balmoral, in 1878, I was asked if I could rival the feats of levitation which Her Majesty's officers in Northern India had observed and described in their letters home. My reply was that with proper mechanical appliances I could produce an illusion of levitation and appear to overcome, as the jugglers did, the force of gravity, but that the actual feat of suspending the operation of that force was beyond my powers. As an evidence of the world-wide curiosity manifested in these truly wonderful phenomena, I may mention the fact that the King of Burmah, before whom I appeared at Mandalay, and the venerable Dom Pedro, in the Teatro Dom Pedro Secundo at Rio, made similar requests, to which I was compelled to return the same reply. The Sultan of Zanzibar described to me and asked me to duplicate the feat of the witch doctors of the east coast of Africa and of Borneo, who, he believed, projected their astral bodies at will, with the curious additional power of imparting to the astral image an aspect so hideous and terrifying that its appearance to human eyes could actually destroy life itself.

The jugglers of India may be divided into two ;es. The low caste fakirs are met with all over the East, ,veling in parties of from three to six. They are arrayed in ! ech clouts and have an air of pitiable poverty and misery. Each ;rty generally includes one or two women, whose flowing robes ;sist in the concealment of the necessary juggling apparatus. t none of their *séances*, that I have ever seen or heard of, did ,e audience completely surround the performers, opportunity being thus offered for evasions and changes.

They all seem to have the same stock in trade, and to be willing to explain any one of their tricks in private for two or three rupees. They are to be met with almost anywhere in Indian cities —in the plazas, open squares, around the bases of the public statues and in the courtyards of the hotels. They content themselves with the sword and basket trick, the duck trick, the mango trick, the pineapple trick, and the manipulation of cobras. All of these, of which I shall speak presently, are readily understood by the practised eye.

The high caste fakirs, on the contrary, are only seen at great public fêtes, such as the coronation of a Prince, the festival of a Maharajah, the coming of age of a Nizam, the grand feast of the

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Mohorrum, and such special occasions as the visit of the Prince of Wales to India. I have had the good fortune to be present on all these occasions, and confess that after thirty years' professional experience as a magician, in the course of which I have circumnavigated the globe a baker's dozen of times, and penetrated the remotest corners of the East and West alike, I am still unable to arrive at a satisfactory explanation of the performances I witnessed.

These fakirs—for that term does not imply a reflection upon their personalities or their methods—are very dignified men, of patriarchal appearance, with ascetic faces and long gray beards. All the skilful ones I have seen were quite advanced in years, and were said to have spent their lives in study and in seclusion. It seems plausible indeed to believe their story, that it is only after a life-time of contemplation and study that they are admitted into the higher circles of the esoteric brotherhood, whose seat is in the monasteries of Tibet and in the mountain recesses of northern Hindustan. They are quiet, suave and secretive, and appear to attach an almost religious significance to the manifestations of their power. There is nothing inherently improbable in the theory that they are initiated into a knowledge whose secrets have been successfully preserved for centuries.

That there is anything supernatural in their power I would be the last to concede, for I have spent my life in combating the delusions of supernaturalism and the so-called manifestations of spiritualism.

The most marvellous phenomena which I have observed may be described under the heads of feats of levitation, or the annihilation of gravity; feats of whirling illusion, in which one human form seems to multiply itself into many, which again resolve themselves into one; and feats of voluntary interment.

My first experience with the phenomenon of levitation was in January, 1882, during the course of an engagement I was filling at the Chowringhee Theatre Royal in Calcutta. Mr. Eglinton, a professed spiritual medium, was giving *séances* in Calcutta at the time, and as I openly avowed my ability to expose the frauds of all so-called mediums, I was taken to one of them which occurred in a brilliantly lighted apartment. I will not describe it otherwise than to say that it so puzzled and interested me that I gladly accepted the invitation an evening or two afterwards to

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be present with several others at a dark *séance* given by Mr. Eglinton.

It was now that the feat of levitation was apparently performed in the presence of these spectators. The only furniture in the room was a plain teakwood table, a zither, some chairs, two musical boxes and a scroll of paper. A circle having been formed, I was placed on Mr. Eglinton's left and seized his left hand firmly in my right. Immediately on the extinction of the lights, I felt him rise slowly in the air and as I retained firm hold of his hand, I was pulled to my feet, and subsequently compelled to jump on a chair and then on the table in order to retain my hold of him. That his body did ascend into the air on that occasion with an apparently utter disregard of the law of gravity, there can be no doubt. The musical-boxes, playing briskly, then appeared to float through the air above our heads, small green lights appearing and disappearing here and there without visible cause, and the zither playing near the ceiling or immediately over our heads.

I mention this incident as a preface to the more remarkable feats of levitation I will now describe, and also to say that this being my first experience of that strange power, what most excited my wonder was the fact, for I may speak of it as a fact without qualification, that when Mr. Eglinton rose from my side, and, by the hold he had on my right hand, pulled me up after him, my own body appeared for the time being to have been rendered non-susceptible to gravity.

On the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales to Calcutta during the winter of 1875–6, I saw a marvel of levitation performed in the presence of the Prince and of some fifty thousand spectators. The place was the Maidam, or Great Plaza of Calcutta, and the old fakir who was the master magician of the occasion did his work out in the open plaza. Around him, in raised seats and on and under the galleries of the neighboring houses, the native Princes and Begums were gathered by the score, arrayed in their silks and jewels, with a magnificence to which our Western eyes are little accustomed.

After a *salaam* to the Prince, the old fakir took three swords with straight cross-barred hilts, and buried them hilt downwards about six inches in the ground. The points of these swords were very sharp, as I afterwards informed myself. A younger

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fakir, whose black beard was parted in what we now call the English fashion, although it originated in Hindustan, then appeared and, at a gesture from his master, stretched himself out upon the ground at full length, with his feet together and his hands close to his sides, and, after a pass or two made by the hands of the old man, appeared to become rigid and lifeless. A third fakir now came forward and taking hold of the feet of his prostrate companion, whose head was lifted by the master, the two laid the stiffened body upon the points of the swords, which appeared to support it without penetrating the flesh. The point of one of the swords was immediately under the nape of the man's neck, that of the second rested midway between his shoulders, and that of the third was at the base of his spine; there being nothing under his legs. After the body had been placed on the sword-points the second fakir retired, and the old man, who was standing some distance from it, turned and *salaamed* to the audience.

The body tipped neither to the right nor to the left, but seemed to be balanced with mathematical accuracy. Presently the master took a dagger with which he removed the soil round the hilt of the first sword, and, releasing it from the earth, after some exertion, quietly stuck it into his girdle, the body meanwhile retaining its position. The second and the third swords were likewise taken from under the body, which, there in broad daylight and under the eyes of all the spectators, preserved its horizontal position, without visible support, about two feet from the ground. A murmur of admiration pervaded the vast throng, and with a low *salaam* to the Prince, the master summoned his assistant, and lifting the suspended body from its airy perch they laid it gently upon the ground. With a few passes of the master's hand the inanimate youth was himself again.

Before describing the third and still more marvellous feat of levitation which it has been my privilege to see, I will say that by the use of metal shields, it is perfectly conceivable that the aged fakir could have laid the rigid body of his subject upon the sword points and kept it there without the assistance of anything marvellous. In a closed room with walls and ceilings to which the mechanical appliances of the magician's craft, as we understand it, could be attached, the feat of levitation, as described, could be performed. But this would be, of course, simply an illusion.

During the Zulu war I was in South Africa, travelling north

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through Zululand. In Dunn's reservation, two hundred miles north from Durban, in Natal, I saw a witch doctor levitate the form of a young Zulu by waving a tuft of grass about his head, amid surroundings calculated to impress themselves deeply upon the most prosaic imagination. It was evening, and the witch doctor, who belonged to the class described more than once by Rider Haggard with great accuracy, was as revolting in his appearance as the high caste fakirs had been pleasing. A number of fakirs had gathered about our camp fire and I had given them some illustrations of my own skill. They seemed puzzled but were not specially curious. One of them stole away and after some minutes returned with their own conjuror, the witch doctor in question. After considerable solicitation from the natives, the intricacies of which my knowledge of the Zulu language did not enable me quite to penetrate, the conjuror, who at first seemed reluctant to give his consent to an exhibition of his powers before me, took a knob kerry or club and fastened it at the end of a thong of rawhide about two feet long. A young native, tall and athletic, whose eyes appeared to be fixed upon those of the conjuror with an apprehensive steadfastness, took his own knob kerry and fastened it at the end of a similar thong of hide. The two then stood about six feet apart in the full glare of the fire, and began, all the while in silence, to whirl their knob kerrys about their heads. I noticed that when the two clubs seemed, in their swift flight, almost to come in contact, a spark or flame passed or appeared to pass from one of them to the other. The third time this happened there was an explosion, the spark appeared to burst, the young man's knob kerry was shattered to pieces, and he fell to the ground apparently lifeless.

The witch doctor turned to the high grass a few feet behind us and gathered a handful of stalks about three feet long. Standing in the shadow and away from the fire, he waved, with a swift motion exactly similar to that of the clubs a few minutes before, the bunch of grass around the head of the young Zulu, who lay as dead, in the firelight. In a moment or two the grass seemed to ignite in its flight, although the witch doctor was not standing within twenty feet of the fire, and burned slowly, crackling audibly. Approaching more closely the form of the native in the trance the conjuror waved the flaming grass gently over his figure, about a foot from the flesh. To my intense amazement the re-

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cumbent body slowly rose from the ground and floated upward in the air to a height of about three feet, remaining in suspension and moving up and down, according as the passes of the burning grass were slower or faster. As the grass burned out and dropped to the ground the body returned to its position on the ground, and after a few passes from the hands of the witch doctor, the young Zulu leaped to his feet, apparently none the worse for his wonderful experience.

The witch doctors of Africa have a great reputation for making rain and bewitching cows, and frequently seem to make themselves the vehicle of domestic enchantments and household spells, but, taking it altogether, the exhibition I have just described, was, I think, the most remarkable that has come under my vision.

I have heard in India that the fakirs walk in the air, but I have never met an eye-witness of this feat ; the accounts given me came second or third hand, and related that the magician laid himself flat upon the earth, face downwards, for a minute or a minute and a half, then arose, and, pressing his arms tightly against his sides, stepped forwards and upwards as if upon an aerial stairway, walking up into the air to an altitude of several hundred feet. My informant said that it was thought this might be done through an occult knowledge of electrical currents, as if these fakirs changed at will the nature of the electrical current with which their body was charged from the negative to the positive, or *vice versa*, inhaling an electrical influence from the earth which had the effect or destroying the force of gravity. But this seemed to me, as it still seems, unintelligible.

After the Eglinton *séance* in Calcutta, I saw a performance by the whirling fakirs in the Chandee Choke, the Cheapside of Calcutta. There were a score of Englishmen in the party which had gathered by arrangement, and we were escorted to a long empty room in the Chandee Choke, which was apparently an unoccupied store room. There was no back door, and the only two windows in the room—which were at either side of the entrance—looked on the street. There was no one present when we arrived, and we examined the room carefully, testing the walls, ceiling and floor for secret doors, traps, wires, etc., and came to the conclusion that in those respects, at least, all was as it should be. We then drew a chalk line one-third of the way down the room from the door, beyond which we were to remain as audience,

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while four fakirs, who appeared at that moment from the street, were to give us an exhibition of their magical powers in the other two-thirds of the apartment, which was destitute of either doors or windows, and, so far as we could inform ourselves, absolutely without means of communication with the adjoining buildings or with the open air.

The old fakir took a chafing-dish and set it about ten feet from the chalk line on his side, casting upon its glowing coals a white powder, which gave out a strong scent of tuberoses, very agreeable to the senses. A fine, white vapor arose from the burning powder and filled the corners of the ceiling, draping the dull panelling with a flying wreath or two, but still permitting a clear view of the end wall. At a point some six or eight feet beyond the chafing dish the old man and his three assistants began dancing slowly; they gave utterance to no sound but whirled faster and faster, with a rhythmic motion, their robes flowing out on either side and blending the four forms into a composite group, of which the tall master was the central figure. Suddenly, to our great astonishment, we became aware that there was only one form visible, that of the old man. The swift whirl of his dance was gradually relaxed, and in a minute or two he became motionless, *salaamed*, advanced in front of the chafing-dish, bowed again, and pointed with a dignified gesture to the rear of the apartment. We all looked eagerly in the direction of his gesture; there was not a living creature, nor indeed an object of any kind visible beyond the line except himself. With another *salaam* he returned to his original position in the rear of the chafing-dish, and began with reverse motion the dance of a moment before. Holding out his arms on each side of him as if the better to balance himself, he now sang in a low, monotonous tone, a chant, the words of which impressed themselves upon my memory and sounded like this:

"*Ai ya or ekto do!*"

In some inexplicable way the monotonous drone of this chant, which fell not unmusically from his lips, seemed to join with the vapors which curled about the scene to bewitch our fancies, or at all events to produce a condition of dreamy delight. If this was hypnotism, so be it; but whether or not the existence of this charmed condition can be ascribed to hypnotic influences, I never felt my senses more completely at my command; and with

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my eyes fixed intently on his whirling figure I became aware that he seemed to be throwing from himself portions of his body ; one arm here, the other there, a leg here, and so on, the illusion being perfect, if illusion it was, and the end of the room where he had begun to dance alone becoming gradually filled with figures like his own, only younger, each whirling with the same chant in the same direction. Suddenly the dance again died away, the chant was hushed, and when we looked again there was but one performer visible, the old fakir, who advanced in front of the chafing-dish and asked for *backsheesh*. He received it liberally, and we again made an examination of the room but could discover no explanation of the disappearance of his companions.

Two years ago, in England, I saw the Walker illusion in Dean Street, London, and for the first time it seemed to me that I understood how the whirling illusion could be performed. After a careful study of the Walker illusion, I concluded that I could duplicate it in an act of my own upon the stage, and this I have done, I think, in what I call "The Blue Room, or the House and the Brain," which is based, of course, upon Bulwer's famous story of "The Haunters and the Haunted," which is, I believe, by common consent, the best ghost story in existence.

Colonel, afterwards Gen. Julius Medley, one time commander of the British forces at Lahore, related to me the most remarkable instance of voluntary interment which had come to his knowledge during his service in the East. I had told him of an experience of my own at Secunderabad in 1878; which I shall presently describe. He assured me of the accuracy of his account of the following incident, and as he was a most distinguished soldier and the uncle of my wife, I attach as much importance to his narrative as if I had myself seen what he related.

He said a group of fakirs of the high caste had visited his quarters in the preceding year and offered to give an exhibition. The old man had, without assistance, thrown himself into a trance while in a sitting position upon the ground. His three assistants had then taken hold of the end of his tongue and pushed it back until it closed the epiglottis. They then laid him upon his back, and swathed his body in bandages. The assistant fakirs next filled the eyes, ears, mouth, and nostrils of their apparently unconscious master with a red paste, not unlike putty, and ban-

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daged his neck and face. All this took place in the presence of Colonel Medley and his staff. The entire body of the old man was then apparently protected from the atmosphere, as well as from the ants, which in the East attack every living thing that is helpless. It was for this purpose of protection, I learned, that the red paste had been put in the cavities of the face and head. The Colonel and his staff inspected the body of the old man and signified their willingness that the ceremony should proceed. In the meanwhile four of Colonel Medley's soldiers had dug a grave ten feet deep in the enclosed yard of the barracks, and at a gesture from the Colonel the old fakir's assistants lifted his body, and gently placed it in a box sheathed with metal, which was then hermetically sealed under the Colonel's eye. The box was lowered into the tomb, the earth was filled in, the surface was levelled, and millet seed was sown over the grave. The assistants then departed under a solemn promise to return in forty days.

Colonel Medley assured me that for every moment, day and night, of the forty succeeding days he had kept an armed guard on watch above the fakir's grave. He felt morally certain that no human agency could tamper with the tomb or the box without his knowledge. At the end of the specified time the fakirs returned and in the presence of Colonel Medley and his staff the tomb was opened. The body of the aged fakir was removed from the box, not differing in appearance in any way from the condition in which it was buried, except that the linen clothes in which it had been wrapped had rotted and fell away at the touch. The fakirs unwound the bandages, removed the red putty-like preparation from the orifices of the eyes, nose, mouth and ears, and with the assistance of a native woman washed the body in warm water and applied an unguent to the face. The woman blew her breath in the old man's mouth, passed her hand briskly over his limbs, and gave him a smart slap upon the chest. His tongue had in the meantime been put iu a natural position and respiration seemed to begin with the blow of the woman's hand. The changes which passed over the features of the old man during the last stage of these preparations were awful to look upon. Misery and effort were painfully depicted upon them. But within five minutes after the breath seemed to reënter his body, the master fakir was himself again.

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I was the guest of Colonel Jenkins, the commander of the British forces at that time. The incident of my own experience which I had related to Colonel Medley, and which drew from him the remarkable narrative I have just recounted, was this. I was one of a party of Englishmen present at a grand fête in Secunderabad at the palace of Sir Saler Jung, the Nizam of Secunderabad. An old man, with aquiline features, a long white beard and flashing black eyes, accompanied by his wife, a pretty little woman, came to us as the chief of a band of eight fakirs. In the presence of all the company, one of the young men was tightly bandaged, and a small glass disc was held in front of and directly between his eyes. His master told him to gaze fixedly at the disc, and, as he did so, the others of the band of fakirs began droning a chant, the words of which were:

"Ram, ram, amaram, amaram, amaram,
Ram, ram, amaram, amaram, amaram."

The bandaged fakir appeared to go to sleep under the drowsy hum of this incantation. He soon became to all appearance dead; the blood seemed to leave the extremities, and his limbs stiffened. His tongue was now turned back until it filled the epiglottis; a few passes were made over his face by the aged fakir, his eyes turned up until only the whites were visible, the lids were shut, and the red, putty-like substance I have alluded to was used to close his eyes, ears, nostrils, and mouth.

Dr. Crawford, of the army, who was present, then made a careful examination of the man's condition. All the usual tests for death were applied, a mirror was held over his mouth, and to all intents and purposes he was pronounced dead. Dr. Crawford went even to the extent of what might be called cruelty, although the subject was undoubtedly unconscious, and stuck a large bodkin through the palm of the man's hands, through the tips of his ears, his cheeks, the ends of his fingers, his thighs, his arms, and other parts of his body. No blood came from these wounds, but a yellowish ichor followed the point of the needle. The master fakir took a coal of glowing charcoal and placed it on the upturned palm of his subject's hand, causing the flesh to sizzle and an unpleasant odor to arise, but there was no sign of feeling. This condition continued for thirty minutes, at the end of which the master fakir made passes over the body with his hands, removed the red paste from the face and

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ears, took off the bandages, and bade us note the result. With horrible contortions and the appearance of great agony, which the old fakir assured us was only an appearance, his assistant returned to the land of the living, apparently as well as ever, except for a badly burned hand.

Bishop Thoburn, of the M. E. Church, in his book on the East, says he has repeatedly heard these stories of suspended animation and voluntary interment, and that Dr. John Martin Honiberger, formerly physician at the Court of Ranjit Singh, ruler of the Sikhs, had told him how a native of Cashmere named Hari Das had been buried alive in the presence of Ranjit Singh, but adds that Dr. Honiberger did not witness this interment himself, and that he can find no evidence in his own experience that such a thing ever takes place.

I am convinced, however, that such voluntary interments have taken place and there is abundant record of such incidents in the experiences of other Anglo-Indian officers besides General Medley. I not only "tell the tale as 'twas told to me," but I tell of what I have myself seen and which I am unable to explain.

HARRY KELLAR.

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A BIBLE LESSON FOR MR. HERBERT SPENCER

BY GAIL HAMILTON.

ONE hardly knows whether to be sorry or glad that Mr. Herbert Spencer has been caught napping. This gentle, modest Christian philosopher cannot create envy, but his attainments are so wide in scope, so far beyond the reach and the ambition of the commonalty that a solid bit of native ignorance in the midst of his learning does seem to humanize him—to bring him a little more within the sphere of our experience and sympathy.

At any rate Mr. Herbert Spencer has been caught napping, and napping, it must be confessed, in the very place where a good many of us have suspected he has been in the habit of going to sleep—with his head on the Bible! I have always maintained, in season and out of season, Mr. Spencer's orthodoxy, both for substance of doctrine and sweet reasonableness of statement, and have met some harmless jeers therefor; but I have never maintained that Mr. Spencer ranked himself as orthodox. The reason is plain. He has never gone deep enough into the Bible to know what orthodoxy really is! He apparently took his allotted share of Bible instruction along with the rest of his early routine education and stopped there, just as a great many inferior men have done; and if these men, with Mr. Spencer at their head, would let the Bible alone and stick to their *moutons* for vivisection, we would let them alone and stick to ours.

No universal obligation rests on men to be Biblical scholars any more than to be electricians. But, if being no electricians, they touch a live wire ignorantly, they are dead men. And when a student never so profound in any or all other departments would set a careless foot upon the science of sciences, Theology, as if that could be disposed of with a hop, skip, and jump, he must be gently and promptly put aside with rubber gloves, just

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to save his life, even though he be the beloved disciple who knows himself only as a Prophet of Evolution.

In the chapter on Veracity, in "The Principles of Ethics," Mr. Spencer executes a wild war dance before the other prophets and apostles. "We have proof in the Bible," he says, "that, apart from the lying which constituted false witness, and was to the injury of a neighbor, there was among the Hebrews but little reprobation of lying."

It might have been well here to note that the exception signified an immense advance on the other wild and semi-civilized tribes whom he cites. Of the Dakotas, of the Mishmis, of the Kirghis, of the Fijians, of the Ugandas, of the tribes of Central Asia, of Central America, of the Philippine Islands, whom he summons to the bar of moral judgment, he predicates no saving clause. Is it not worthy of note, if not of scientific investigation, that while all these tribes lied as a business enterprise, as a legitimate means of attack and defence, as the ordinary way of getting a living, one obscure tribe in Western Asia incorporated into their very earliest code a law forbidding *malicious* lying, injurious lying, false witness *against* a neighbor? If we, in the nineteenth century, if we English and American citizens lived up to the standard held aloft by this half-civilized people, if we had completely abandoned the sort of lying which this tribe distinguished itself from its neighbors by reprobating—lying to the injury of a neighbor—a large part of the machinery of our civilization might be allowed to fall into disuse and our spears become tuning-forks to set our lives to a key of celestial harmony.

Mr. Spencer deduces from all his tribes the general observation that it is the presence or absence of despotic rule which tends to prevalent falsehood or prevalent truth; that tribes which were subject to coercion lied as a matter of self-defence against their tyrants, while tribes that were governed by an elected council or by the majority of an assembly, and were inspired by the spirit of equality, were truthful, and that however annoying is the mendacity of free tribes, the mendacity of slave tribes far surpasses it.

But the Hebrew code, the great exceptional new law of truth, a law so high that we have not yet attained unto it, was made, adopted and observed by a race of slaves. Of all the tribes and people cited by Mr. Spencer for truth or for falsehood, savage or

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semi-civilized, ancient or modern, Mexicans, Hindoos, Hottentots, Khonds, Kolîs, Bodo, Dhimáls, Todas, Hos, Puluyans, Wood-Veddahs, Ostiahs, Samoieds, Sontals, Bengalis, Kois, Râmôsîs, Saracens, Slavs, Avais, Aquitanians,—not one of them all has left any discernible mark upon us. Of many of them the name is not even known; while the one race of shepherd slaves has furnished, has at least fashioned, the backbone of our civilization. The code which it adopted when it came up out of four hundred years of slavery is the groundwork of our morality and our religion. It was wrought by the finger of God on tables of stone for the betterment of an ancient, semi-civilized, wandering tribe, according to their proud patriotic record. Mr. Herbert Spencer may scout the miracle, but he may see its continuous progress every Sunday morning, if he will walk into the churches of his own England; for, behold, the finger of God still writes on tables of stone the same ten commandments, fronting the great congregation, who still repeat them as devoutly as did the original Bedouins, with the earnest prayer, "Lord have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law!"

It is not necessary to be a Congregationalist or an Episcopalian or an Agnostic, but this is a fact just as much as a serpent mound or a megatherium or an archæological potsherd. We may reject any and every particular philosophy of the fact, but the fact remains—to be accounted for.

This, assuming the truth of Mr. Spencer's statement, that with one exception "there was among the Hebrews but little reprobation of lying." The truth or falsity of that statement is not to my purpose. It is to my purpose that when Mr. Spencer brings forward his "proof from the Bible" to sustain his statement, he displays so very juvenile an acquaintance with his text-book that one is moved to go back indeed to the First Principles of Theology and ask him, tentatively: "Can you tell, my child, who made you?"

"Indeed, it would be remarkable were it otherwise," says Mr. Spencer, "considering that Jahveh set the example; as when, to ruin Ahab, he commissioned 'a lying spirit' (I Kings, xxii., 22) to deceive his prophets."

The passage which Mr. Spencer cited is this: "And the Lord said unto him, 'Wherewith'? And he said, 'I will go forth, and I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets.' And he

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said, 'Thou shalt persuade him, and prevail also: go forth, and do so.'"

This is a "proof" just as much as many of the old "proof-texts" which used to be attached to our Sunday-school questions and answers were proof of the doctrines they were set against, but it is surprising to find it serving a scholar's purpose outside of Sunday-schools. It is a "proof" hardly more than the "top-knot, come down!" (Matt., xxiv., 17,) of the text-books was a proof that women are forbidden by Scripture to wear wired bows on their bonnets.

I quote the picturesque and spirited narrative from which Mr. Spencer deduces nothing but false witness against "a race-character which evolved such a conception of a deity's principles."

"And they continued three years without war between Syria and Israel. And the King of Israel said unto his servants: 'Know ye that Ramoth in Gilead is ours, and we be still, and take it not out of the hand of the King of Syria?'"—just as Bismarck, doubtless, spoke to Emperor William about Alsace and Lorraine in the hands of Louis Napoleon. "And it came to pass in the third year that Jehoshaphat, the King of Judah, came down to the King of Israel. And he said unto Jehoshaphat" (what every newspaper man in Europe is on the watch to hear the young German Emperor say when he goes a-visiting): "Wilt thou go with me to battle to Ramoth-gilead?" And as King Umberto might, in the enthusiasm of a strong and desired alliance, reply to William, Jehoshaphat answered the King of Israel: "I am as thou art, my people as thy people, my horses as thy horses."

And Jehoshaphat, who appears to have been a truly religious and orthodox man as far as policy would permit, and who liked to have the blessing of the clergy and the sentiment of the church with him in any enterprise, said to the King of Israel: "Inquire, I pray thee, at the word of the Lord to-day." Then the King of Israel—with the prompt alacrity of that ambitious colonel who, not willing to be outdone in anything, detailed forty men for baptism, to match the revival fruits in another regiment—gathered the prophets together, about *four hundred* men, and said unto them: "Shall I go against Ramoth-gilead to battle, or shall I forbear?" And the servile crew who cared for nothing, but the buttered side of their bread in hand, and who knew well which side that was, answered to a man · ·p; for the Lord shall

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deliver it into the hand of the King." Jehoshaphat, familiar with true prophets, gave one look at the ragamuffin crowd, and showed what he thought of them by his first disgusted question to King Ahab: "Is there not here a *prophet of the Lord, besides,* that we might inquire of him?"

Not a word of defence for his rabble four hundred did the conscious Ahab proffer, but confessed judgment in his naïve reply: "There *is* yet one man, Micaiah the son of Imlah, by whom we may inquire of the Lord: but I *hate him*; for he doth not prophesy good concerning me, but evil." And Jehoshaphat said gently: "Let not the King say so." And the King of Israel called an officer, and said: "Bring Micaiah here instantly!"

Eager to embrace every opportunity for displaying his magnificence, and hoping, no doubt, to overawe the one recalcitrant prophet, Ahab made a stately ceremonial of the occasion. The two kings put on their robes of state and splendor and sat each on his throne, which had been placed in a large open park at the entrance of the city for the better accommodation of the immense assembly. And all the prophets prophesied before them. And Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah, not content with the emphasis of reiteration, made himself horns of iron and accentuated his falseness by crying: "Thus saith the Lord: 'With these shalt thou push the Syrians until thou hast consumed them.'" And all the fool prophets roared in emulous unison: "Go up to Ramoth-gilead and prosper: for the Lord shall deliver it into the King's hand."

And the messenger that was gone to call Micaiah, being very friendly towards the great, true man, and desirous of his welfare, spoke unto him, saying: "Behold, now, the words of the prophets declare good unto the King with one mouth; let thy word, I pray thee, be like the word of one of them and speak that which is good. What is the use of setting up one disagreeable truth against four hundred pleasant lies? You will only get yourself into trouble and benefit nobody. Let not my lord be always in a minority of one. It is simply throwing away your vote."

And Micaiah said: "As the Lord liveth, what the Lord saith unto me that will I speak." And his friend saw that Micaiah was impracticable and he held his peace. So he came to the King.

And when all the gates of etiquette had been duly passed, the

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king said unto him in his most august manner, "Micaiah, shall we go against Ramoth-gilead to battle, or shall we forbear?" With a meaning glance at the friendly messenger who had advised compromise, and who stood near sorrowfully awaiting the result, Micaiah cried with ironical emphasis, assuming even the courtier tones of the pseudo-prophets: "Go and prosper; for the Lord shall deliver it into the hand of the King."

The King keenly felt and resented the mimicry which he was too clever not to see, and cried angrily to the bold prophet: "How many times shall I adjure thee that thou tell me nothing but that which is true in the name of the Lord?" A very pious exclamation, but Ahab must have forgotten what he had in a moment of frankness said to his visitor about the prophet.

And Micaiah, throwing off the mask of satire, said with the solemnity of foreboding: "I saw all Israel scattered upon the hills, as sheep that have not a shepherd."

"Did I not tell them that he would prophecy no good concerning me, but evil," said the King, turning impatiently to his guest.

But Micaiah, not heeding the interruption, not permitting interruption, gazed upon the deluded people and the deluding priests, and upon the wayward king both deluded and deluding, and said in a voice that compelled attention, "Hear thou therefore the word of the Lord: I saw the Lord sitting on his throne and all the host of heaven standing by him, on his right hand and on his left. And the Lord said, 'Who shall persuade Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-gilead?' And one said on this manner, and another said on that manner. And there came forth a spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said: 'I will persuade him.' And the Lord said unto him: 'Wherewith'? And he said, 'I will go forth, and I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets.' And he said, 'Thou shalt persuade him, and prevail also; go forth and do so.' Now therefore, behold, the Lord hath put a lying spirit in the mouth of all these thy prophets, and the Lord hath spoken evil concerning thee."

I know that I have spoiled the beauty of the old, old story, but Mr. Spencer compelled me to do so by refusing to understand it without a modern, not to say vulgar, pigment.

Who does not see in this an argument, a solemn warning in the guise of a parable, to dissuade a rash king from going out

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to certain disaster? This is a story of Jahveh setting the example of lying! The whole burden of the tale is honor and reprobation of lying. "These men, prophets?" says the intrepid preacher in their very presence and in the presence of the allied kings: "Then they are the prophets of a lying spirit and not of the God of truth. These foul tongues divine? Then the Lord God Almighty has discarded His holy ones and has employed liars." It is an explanation, fanciful in form but embodying a real and deplorable truth. The incredible spectacle of four hundred pretended prophets leading a great king to his overthrow can be only by the inspiration of the devil.

Mr. Spencer does not understand it, but the four hundred understood. That Head Centre of falsehood, who could not be content with words, but must fashion to himself horrors of emphasis, understood.

Zedekiah, the son of Chenaanah, went near and smote Micaiah on the cheek and said with a bitter sneer: "Which way went the Spirit of the Lord from me to speak unto thee?" If Micaiah was simply telling them that Jahveh set them the example of lying, what was there for Zedekiah to be angry about? In those lying peoples among whom Mr. Spencer places the Hebrews, he tells us that a ready and clever liar is a valuable acquisition, that a successful liar is considered a smart, clever fellow, and rather admired, and that lying was tacitly or openly applauded. If then the Hebrew four hundred, lying as fast as their tongues could wag, under the stimulus of the kings' presence, who lived by their lies, were unexpectedly buttressed by the testimony of the great reformer justifying their lies by citing the example of Jahveh, why should Zedekiah have been moved to go up and slap his face?

What Mr. Spencer has done is to take out one item from a *reductio ad absurdum* in story form, the favorite form of a few thousand years ago, and state it as a categorical proposition—which he never would have done the second time if he had enrolled himself as a member in good and regular standing of our Washington Bible Class!

But he does it a second time, and a third time, time, times and a half. It is his stereotyped mode of "proof," his satisfactory exegesis. He slips down a thousand years and impales St. Paul on the same unthinking pen. "Nor do we find the stand-

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ard much changed in the days of Christ and after; instance the case of Paul, who, apparently rather piquing himself on his 'craft and guile,' elsewhere defends his act by contending that the truth of God hath more abounded through my lie unto his glory" (Romans, iii., 7.).

Writing on the 8th of November I may not inaptly say that if Paul was the Republican Presidential candidate and Mr. Herbert Spencer a Democratic stump-speaker, I fear even his noble work in the past would not prevent partisan newspapers from describing him as the "Champion liar" of the campaign, which only shows how much harsher is political than theological debate, for Mr. Spencer is no liar, even when he does not speak the truth. If he is not a saint, he is, as old Father Taylor used to say of his son-in-law, a very sweet sinner. He does not misread Paul for the purposes of election or any self-seeking. He simply skims along the surface, assuming that there is nothing worth while under the surface. If he would give half the study to the Scriptures of the Jews that he gives to the Scriptures of the rocks he would not shoot so wide of the mark. If St. Paul had been a Mesozoic lizard Mr. Spencer would know all about him. But even as an exponent or sign-manual of evolution, Paul has a distinct and appreciable value, just as truly as if he were the *Anisichnus Deweyanus* gamboling on the micaceous sand a hundred and thirty feet below the earth's surface a hundred and thirty millions of years ago, and for that reason alone Mr. Spencer ought not to slur him over with such a twist of the pen!

Come hither, therefore, learned philosopher, sit down in our Bible class like a little child and learn that Paul did nothing of the sort. Obey the law of the half-civilized and cease to bear false witness against your neighbor, even though he be only a man and not a megalosaurus.

The early Christian Corinthians were very, very early Christians—just rescued from Paganism, always falling back and having to be pulled up again into a half decent Christianity by main force. In the present case they seem to have been slandering Paul right and left till his apostolic reputation and future influence were involved, and he was not simply stung but forced to a spirited self-defence. His natural Christian modesty and the necessity of proclaiming his integrity clashed, and now the one and now the other was uppermost.

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"I am become a fool in glorying; ye have compelled me: for I ought to have been commended of you and not found fault with. For in nothing am I behind the very chiefest apostles, though I am not one of the original twelve. Were not all the signs of an apostle wrought among you? What is it wherein ye were inferior to other churches, I should like to know, except that I myself was not burdensome to you. You paid me no salary, as other churches do their ministers. Forgive me this wrong." Does Mr. Spencer need the explanation attached? "This is sarcasm."

"You say," continued Paul, "'Be it so, I did not burden you,' nevertheless, being crafty, I caught you with guile. I did not receive a salary or take up a collection, but, being crafty, I got it out of you indirectly!

"How, will you please to tell me, did I make a gain of you by any of them whom I sent unto you? I desired Titus, and with him I sent a brother. Did Titus make a gain of you? Did Titus get any money out of you?

"Do not imagine I am excusing myself to you. I speak before God, in the name of Christ, and I am speaking for your sake that you may not make such fools of yourselves, such mean and petty and clamorous fools, that I shall be ashamed of you when I come, and shall have to rebuke you so sternly that you will hate me!"

And to read this Mr. Spencer lays aside not only his philosophical acumen, but his common understanding, and sits down like a stolid school-boy on the lowest bench and reads with the school-boy's unthinking, mechanical monotone, "And—be-ing craft-y, I-caught-you-with-guile." There would be just as much of Paul in his rendering if he read it backward: "Guile-with-you-caught-I-crafty-being-and."

He does precisely the same with the Romans. Paul considered himself eminently the Apostle to the Gentiles, not one of the original twelve, but a late comer, and therefore proper for the Gentiles, who were not the original "chosen people."

In many hand-to-hand fights he grappled with the Jews, maintaining and defending the right of his Gentiles to the Kingdom of Heaven—battling the Jewish claim to superiority and the exclusive possession of Divine favor. With his usual intellectual agility and dramatic tendency he takes both sides of the case and handles them with equal vivacity. Unhappily Mr. Spencer does not cut around corners fast enough to keep both Paul and his

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imaginary antagonist always in sight, and comes to grief thereby. Seeing only Paul ahead he supposes Paul is making a dead straight line and must be talking to himself.

"Behold," says Paul, pouring forth his rapid and redundant eloquence on his bullet-headed Jews, "Thou art called a Jew, and restest in the law, and makest thy boast of God, and art confident that thou thyself art a guide of the blind, a teacher of babes. Thou, therefore, which teachest another, teachest thou not thyself? Thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal? If you break every commandment in the Decalogue and the Gentile keeps every commandment, are you going to consider yourself a better man than the Gentile, simply because you are born a Jew? He is not a Jew which is one outwardly. He is a Jew which is one inwardly, obeying God in the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter.

"Do you say: 'What advantage, then, hath the Jew?' I answer: 'Much every way: chiefly because unto them were committed the oracles of God—these same commandments which you boast of holding, having received as a trust from God, yet which you spend your life in breaking. For what, if some did not believe? Shall their unbelief make the faith of God without effect? On the contrary, the faith of God often shines all the more strongly against the shadows of man's unbelief.'

"Ah! now you think you have caught me. Now you argue: 'If our unrighteousness illustrates the righteousness of God, we are doing a good work, and it is unrighteous in God to punish us for it.' God forbid! for then all wrong would have to go unpunished. 'Yes,' you persist,—for I speak as a man, as one of you,—'if the truth of God is all the clearer as seen against my lie, I maintain that my lie is a good thing, and I ought not to be judged a sinner because I tell it.'

"Oh, no! my beloved but erring brethren and hearers, wrong—all wrong. That is just what I am slanderously reported to teach, but what I earnestly repudiate and denounce—that it is right to do evil that good may come—that it is righteous to lie because God overrules it to the cause of truth. I teach nothing of the sort. I teach that the only right thing for Jew and Gentile alike is truth—is righteousness."

And this, this very self-same slanderous report which Paul flatly denies, Mr. Spencer blandly repeats, and repeats it on

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Paul's authority! The acts which Paul vigorously disproves and condemns Mr. Spencer says that Paul defends. In the scorning and scoring of the Corinthian sophistry, Mr. Spencer sees only its adoption and use.

It is incredible that the great saint of the new departure in Judaism should be traduced by the great saint of modern evolution, when they ought to be brothers in unity. In point of real character I do not know that there is anything to choose. In certain very trying circumstances Mr. Spencer has shown himself a perfect Christian, and if I knew as much about him as I do about Saint Paul I dare say I should find him just as good—not so fiery in temperament, not so impetuous in style, not so irresistible in his current of thought or action (suppose the enthusiasm of investigation necessitates an entirely different mental constitution from the enthusiasm of humanity)—but just as single-hearted, just as truth-seeking in regard to the action of structure on function, as was Paul over the action of Jewish law on Gentiles.

But that which befalleth the sons of men befalleth also philosophers, even one thing befalleth them—the necessity of knowing what they are talking about. I abate no whit of positiveness regarding Mr. Spencer's orthodoxy as soon as Mr. Spencer thinks it worth his while to learn what orthodoxy is, or to render the Bible as accurately as he renders a bird track. But, until that happy hour arrives, so often as the ever-recurring question thunders down from the Spirit of Truth, Who is this that darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge? thousands of his most ardent disciples will rise and answer, shame-faced, but unwavering, "Herbert Spencer, God bless him!"

GAIL HAMILTON.

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OUR CITY VIGILANCE LEAGUE.

BY THE REV. DR. CHARLES H. PARKHURST.

THE principles and purposes of the above organization admit of being stated distinctly and concisely. Its origin dates primarily from the condition of public feeling excited by the presentment of the March Grand Jury of 1892. Prior to that there had been charges publicly brought against the Police Department, in particular, for criminality in discharge of its duties. There are certain statutory obligations resting upon that department which admit of no evasion, and disregard of which is as distinctly criminal as is the infraction of any law against murder or burglary.

The obligations thus specifically referred to are those summarized in Section 282 of the "Act of Consolidation," as follows:

> It is hereby made the duty of the police force, at all times of day and night . . . . . carefully to observe and inspect all places of public amusement, all places of business having excise or other licenses to carry on any business, all houses of ill-fame or prostitution, and houses where common prostitutes resort or reside; all lottery-offices, policy-shops, and places where lottery tickets or lottery policies are sold or offered for sale; all gambling-houses, cock-pits, rat-pits, and public common dance-houses, and to repress and restrain all unlawful and disorderly conduct or practices therein; enforce and prevent the violation of all laws and ordinances in force in said city; and for these purposes, with or without warning, to arrest all persons guilty of violating any law or ordinance for the suppression or punishment of crimes or offences.

Of that statute the procedure of the Police Department is a distinct and continuous violation. That is to say, in view of the existence of that statute, the Police Department of our city, from the top down, is permanently criminal. Whether the members of that department believe in suppressing the social evil, the gambling habit and violations of excise, has nothing to do with it. They are paid for enforcing the law, and for them to neglect

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its enforcement on the ground that they think there is some wiser way of handling these evils, is an impertinence for which they deserve to be smartly rapped. Certain criminals the department will jump upon, and set its entire machinery in instant motion, in order to secure conviction, but it is itself more criminal than the criminals whom it nabs, for it makes a mockery of criminality by making a plaything of its obligations to suppress criminality, and by discriminating between criminals at the behest of considerations that are neither far nor hard to seek.

The public needs to be reminded of the following expression occurring in the presentment above referred to: "They enforce the law in many respects in a superior manner, but if they be permitted to discriminate in favor of certain forms of crime, for reasons well known to themselves, there is no telling where the same course will lead them to or land the interests of our city. Circumstances and testimony offered have tended to show financial considerations in some cases for lax administration. Indeed the publicity with which the law is violated and the immunity from arrest enjoyed by the law-breakers is inconsistent with any other theory."

Now that is substantially an indictment of the Police Department, and that indictment has not been met by the Department. Those of us who have been watching the course of events know that crime was just as rampant in this city the last two weeks before the first of December as it was during the last two weeks before the first of April. Now that is our one permanent point of assault.

If the writer of this article may be allowed a personal reference, there has been no effort made by him during the last ten months that has swerved a hair's breadth from the purpose to make police criminality in this respect a matter of general acquaintance and of public consciousness. We have not been dealing with the gambling habit. We have not been concerning ourselves with the social evil. We have no interest in the social evil as such. Our one unswerving purpose has been to show the community that the department, whose duty it is to lay a strong hand on these matters, is viciously negligent of its duty. And what is more we did show it, and that is why they hate us for it.

I have been thus detailed in my statement of the situation in order that it might be understood easily what is the scope of the

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Society whose character and purposes I have been requested to set forth in this article. On taking up the work of the Society for the Prevention of Crime, somewhat more than a year ago, subsequent to the death of the deeply-lamented Crosby, we found ourselves confronted by a peculiar condition. The members of that Society were substantially of one mind in their conviction that, numerous as were the specific violations of crime in this city, there was another evil which we had to face, which was still more of a menace to our municipal character and weal. Violations of crime are bad enough, but they stand in no comparison with the peril of a condition of things whose very genius it is to gender violations of crime. Immediately on its re-organization the Society tackled that question.

The present president of the Society stated at that time that he would have no interest in throwing himself into the work if it was to be confined to the prosecution of specific infractions of statute. It was decided that the duty immediately before us was to antagonize the existing relations between municipal authorities and criminals which made crime easy and secured to it immunity. Pursuant to that end we avail ourselves of such means as are at hand for securing and giving publicity to the evidences of an unholy compact betwcen those who commit crime and those whose prime duty it is to prevent its commission. That, then, is the immediate purpose of the Society for the Prevention of Crime.

Now that Society and the City Vigilance League are concentric. The members of the latter might be termed associate members of the former. They have the same president. They have the same axial purpose. They might be designated as being the inner and the outer circles of the same organization. We have the same rooms as our headquarters. One and the same man is the secretary of the two. Religiously and politically we have the same platform. That platform is made broad enough for any man to stand upon who believes in pure municipal government, whether he be Protestant, Catholic or Jewish, and whether his affiliations be with the Democratic, or the Republican party, or with Tammany Hall.

The perfect coincidence in point of scope between the two organizations puts us in a position to meet the charge which has been brought against the League that it is a spying organization.

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It is a spying organization in exactly the same sense that the Society for the Prevention of Crime, in the pursuit of its present purposes, is a spying organization. We have ample ground for suspecting the honesty of conduct of a good many of our municipal servants, and in view of the fact that they are our servants we are watching them. We are not watching the community at large. Though we had a member of the League posted on every block, that would not alter the case at all. We have a considerable number of municipal servants in our employ, whose salaries are being paid out of our pockets; we suspect these servants, some of them, of not doing what they are paid for doing, and we are watching them to discover evidences of their infidelity. Now if that kind of watching is what our enemies choose to call "spying," they are welcome to the term, although, of course, we understand perfectly well that they select that designation for the reason that they know that their own behavior is iniquitous, and therefore desire to discredit and render unpopular any scheme designed to embarrass their crooked practices. The one principle by which we are animated is that these officials are our hired servants, and as such it is part of our civic responsibility to look after them, and the more they resent that idea and call it names, the more evident it becomes that they need looking after. If a man is at the head of any ordinary business and suspects any of his employees of a mischievous use of any of his own funds he does not consider that he is "playing the spy" upon them if he keeps a shrewd eye upon their operations so far as those operations have to do with his business and his money. The fraudulent employee would probably call it "spying," but nobody else would think of doing so.

One object which we have had in view in enlisting in this work a large number of men, especially in young and middle life, is to inculcate exactly that idea, that there is a responsibility for these matters lodged in us *as citizens*. We are not going to be safe here in this city till there comes to be among us a general recognition of the fact that citizenship entails responsibility, and not a responsibility that is discharged by the occasional dropping of a ballot at election, but a responsibility that survives election and that follows the citizen all the way round the year till the next election comes. We here in New York are in the sad condition in which we find ourselves to-day for the reason that we have to

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such a degree relegated municipal responsibilities to our official subordinates that they have become practically irresponsible parties, and instantly resent the idea of being called to account. They have come to stand to us in very much the same relation that domestic servants often stand in towards their mistresses, who by being left for a little time too much to their own behests acquire the idea that they are themselves the mistresses, resent as vicious interference anything in the way of rebuke or criticism, even though emanating from the employers who pay their monthly wages.

The City Vigilance League has been established then in part as a means of inculcating on our younger men a sense of civic responsibility. In our meetings together, we are not accustomed to mention the Mayor or the District Attorney or the Superintendent of Police or any other official with bated breath. We never mean to be disrespectful or insolent; but our deliberations are conducted in distinct recognition of the fact that they are paid by us to do our municipal business for us, and as such that it becomes us to handle them in their paid relations to us with the same frankness precisely as that with which Mr. Smith handles the clerk in his offices, or that with which Mrs. Jones handles Bridget in the kitchen.

Of course such doctrine as this is not congenial to the parties in office, but, then, that is their concern, not ours; but we trust that in time they will become so accustomed to it as to treat it with a little more suavity than seems natural to them just at present. No matter how many municipal officials we have, this is still *our city*. The Mayor is bound to look after the citizens, but the citizens are just as much bound to look after the Mayor. The Judiciary must sit on the bench, but the citizens must sit on the Judiciary. There is no man so faithful that he does not need to be watched in order to be kept faithful. I mention these facts, because they constitute a part of the catechism of each City Vigilance Leaguer. These principles, it seems to the members of the League, none can resent or criticise, except such as desire to serve their city for the sake of the pecuniary dividend there is in it.

Another point emphasized among the members of the League is that citizens in order to fulfil their civic functions in the midst of a depraved and ill-governed city must become intensely con-

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scious and frankly assertive of the authority properly inhering in them in their civil capacity. One man with the right on his side, and knowing that the right is on his side, is quite a crowd. Mere arithmetical proportions do not signify, any more than in the instance of a crowd versus one hornet; if the hornet is feeling well and his works are in good repair, the size of the crowd is the very last thing that comes into account. Everything pivots on the hornet.

We have stated the circumstances out of which the League grew and the principles by which it is animated; it will be in order now to say something as to the specific work which it is doing. In attempting to apprise the community of the delinquencies, to use no harsher term, of the existing muncipal administration, the only enginery we can bring to bear is facts.

So far forth the City Vigilance League may be considered as an organization for the gleaning of facts tending to certify the community of the fidelity or infidelity of its public officials. General as is the conviction that things in this city are not what we have the right to expect them to be, there is not that detailed knowledge of the situation that is needed in order that the matter may come home with power and effect to the intelligence and the conscience of the community at large. It is that situation precisely that creates the necessity for such an organization as the League. We have no politics. Our only ambition is thoroughly to know our city, and to make the facts that relate to its character and administration perfectly perspicuous to the average mind, regardless of all partisan or sectarian differences.

Our preliminary need is of 1,137 men, honest and durable, who will undertake to represent respectively each of the election districts into which our city is at present subdivided. The duty of each of those men will be to make himself thoroughly conversant with all that concerns the district under his charge. So far as in any way bears upon questions at issue he must know his district through and through. It is recommended, in order to insure thoroughness, that each supervisor should prepare a chart of his own district, with the names of residents so fast as he may come to know their names, nationality, etc. Buildings used for other than purposes of residence should be considered in detail, and their character noted so far as such memoranda can be of any use in securing the results already specified This will include schools and saloons, a full account of which later will embrace such par-

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ticulars as the brewer under whose auspices the saloon is run, the general tone of the place, the relations subsisting between it and the policeman on the beat or the captain of the precinct; whether it is kept open in unlawful hours, the age and character of its customers, whether it is licensed, and if so whether its existence is necessitated by the paucity of saloons in the neighborhood or whether people living in proximity are enduring its presence under protest. The survey and tabulation must of course include a statement as to all houses of prostitution, pool-rooms, policy-shops and gambling-houses in the district.

In this connection it ought to be said that it is emphatically urged upon supervisors that nothing should be done by them that can be any moral menace to them or that can put taint even upon their reputation. So far as relates to the gleaning of this class of facts the Society for the Prevention of Crime and its detectives can be employed. Everything relating to the condition of the streets will also come under the purview of supervisors, such as their cleanliness, the condition of the paving, and in cases where paving is being laid, whether it is being laid according to the terms of the contract. The above specifications, although not comprising all the lines of work contemplated, will suffice to illustrate the spirit and intent of the League, which is that wherever the administrative blood beats in this city the finger of the League shall be upon it counting its pulsations.

The work of gathering in the required number of supervisors is being carefully but energetically pushed. There are at present thirty assembly districts in the town. When our organization is complete each of these assembly districts will have its assembly supervisors, and will be thereby constituted president of the district supervisors comprised within that assembly district. There will thus be thirty subordinate organizations, which will all be comprised within one comprehensive organization through the agency of the managing committee of thirty assembly supervisors. We are not crowding things with inordinate haste but are trying to take the careful measure of each new man we receive. We are most of us in early or middle life, and hope to be spared to a good many years of active and useful service.

C. H. PARKHURST.

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POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES AND ENGLAND.

BY THE RIGHT HON. JAMES BRYCE, M. P., AUTHOR OF "THE AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH."

ALTHOUGH democratic governments not only existed, but were copiously discussed by political philosophers, more than two thousand years ago, the world has as yet had very little experience of the rule of numbers as applied to large populations. Switzerland and Norway, no less than the republics of antiquity, of the middle ages, furnish data of comparatively little service to great nations like Germany and Italy, for democracy in small communities is evidently quite a different thing from what it is in large ones. France has been democratic only since 1871, England only since the two great Franchise Extension and Redistribution Acts of 1884 and 1885. Thus it is only in the United States that the problem of governing a great state by the vote of large masses of men has been worked out with any approach to completeness, and those who in the old world seek to forecast the course of their own popular governments must look for light beyond the Atlantic. This is especially the case as regards the organization of political parties. No one has yet written the natural history of parties, though Burke has some admirable reflections upon the uses and dangers of this kind of government. No one of the best-known European authorities on political science, such as Tocqueville in the last generation, or Bluntschli, Schérer, Bagehot and Laveleye in our own, has recognized the importance of the part which is played in large democracies by what may be called the mechanism of the parties.

Party government is a species of war, conducted by ballots instead of bullets. The efficiency of the contending hosts de-

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pends hardly less on their discipline than on their numbers, because scattered voting is even worse than scattered firing. A small party which is cohesive and obeys its leaders will prevail in a campaign, if not in a battle, against a larger party which breaks into fractions. This has been forcibly brought home to people in England by the recent general election, in which the Tory party did not lose a single seat by internal divisions, while the two allied oppositions, British and Irish, had, both, to regret defeats, owing to the drawing off by rival candidacies of large groups of voters.

Before proceeding to comply with the request made to me to furnish some account of party organizations of Great Britain as compared with those of the United States, it is well to account for the rudimentary character of the former. Some American readers may fancy that our British backwardness is due to a deficient interest in political strife. So far is this from being the case that there has never been a time when political interest was keener than from 1876 till now; nor has any election since 1832 been fought with as much fierceness as that which is closing as I write (July, 1892). The causes why party organizations have been less developed in the United Kingdom may be best understood by noting what are the causes which have stimulated their creation and extension in the United States.

I. In the United States the number of elections is very great, vastly exceeding that to be found in any European country. The system of urban and rural local government which prevails over the Eastern, Middle, and Western States, requires the election of many representative bodies for areas of all sizes; while the practice of choosing executive officers by popular vote instead of having them, as in Europe, nominated either by the central government or by the local representative council, still further increases the occasions on which the people are called upon to declare by ballot their preferences. The federal structure of the government adds another set of assemblies to those which European countries (except federal Switzerland) require, with another set of elections. Moreover, in America, representatives and officials are usually chosen for short periods, so that the occasions for choosing them occur very frequently. Hence the need for keeping a party together for fighting purposes is a need continuously felt, a need which not only obliges the organization to

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be always "on a war footing," but gives it that dexterity and exactness of drill which come from unintermitted practice.

II. In the United States, while there are incessant elections for small areas, such as city wards and townships, there are also elections where the area is very large and the number of voters enormous—such as the elections of State officers and of congressmen. Nothing but an active and well-built organization can manipulate these huge masses, and turn them from a mob into an army.

III. Over the greater part of the United States the lines of political party do not coincide with those of class distinction, or of any other kind of distinction, such as trade or religion. Party, therefore, cannot avail itself of such other forms of social or economic organization as may exist, but must create fresh ones for its own purposes. Moreover a large proportion of the population is new to the country and its institutions, ignorant, migratory. It will vote wildly, or will not vote at all, unless it is seized, enlisted, drilled by the recruiting agents and inferior officers of the party machinery.

Compare with these conditions those of Great Britain.

In Great Britain elections are comparatively few. The only one which excites much political interest, that for the House of Commons, comes on an average but once in four years. Elections for city councils, county councils, and even school boards, are now beginning to be fought upon party lines, but the first was seldom a party affair till some twenty or thirty years ago, while school boards date only from 1870, county councils from 1888. Thus both the need for machinery to handle voters and the opportunities for working that machinery have been comparatively slender. When a parliamentary election came round, a system of committees sprang into being to meet the emergency; but when the emergency had passed the committees were dissolved, and the organization practically went to pieces. It is not yet clear whether the interposition between parliamentary elections of the minor ones just referred to will do much to keep the party machinery in a state of constant readiness for work.

In Great Britain the masses of voters to be manipulated have till recently been, on an average, small. Even now few parliamentary constituencies exceed twelve thousand voters, while many are below eight thousand, numbers manageable by extemporized committees.

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In Great Britain the people are not only far more settled in their dwelling-places than in America, but are grouped and organized by a variety of social, religious, and economic bonds which scarcely exist in the newer parts of the latter country. The influence of rank counts for something, that of wealth for a vast deal. Employers, if they have any tact, are often able to carry their workers with them, and may venture to appeal to, or even put pressure on, the latter in a way which American opinion would not tolerate.

So the clergy of not a few denominations interfere in politics. Those of the Established Churches of England and Scotland have been active of late years on the Tory side. English Nonconformist ministers occasionally appear on the platforms of the other party, while in Ireland the Episcopalian and Presbyterian ministers in Ulster seem at the recent election to have rivalled the Roman Catholic priests of the southern provinces in their political exertions. Thus voters can be moved in many other ways than by purely political machinery, and the parties find ready made to their hand in the influences of land-owners and capitalits, or industrial magnates, or ecclesiastics, methods of swaying the constituencies often more effective than the regular party associations. Nor must it be forgotten that the issues upon which most of our British parliamentary contests have been fought, have been clearer and sharper issues than those raised between the two great American parties since 1868, and have in many cases turned upon the extension of the political privileges of the masses. The people have been so excited by questions touching themselves directly, as to need the stimulus of party methods far less than has usually happened in the United States, at least since the election of 1868.

However, the most important difference between the two countries lies in this, that in Great Britain there are extremely few persons who have any direct personal interest, affecting their pocket or their status, involved in the victory or defeat of a party. Setting aside the holders of, and aspirants to, the thirty or forty places which change hands with the ministry of the day, and the somewhat larger but still quite insignificant number of persons who hope for those few posts in the permanent civil service which remain within the free patronage of ministers, or who seek to become peers or baronets, there is nobody to whom it makes any pecuniary difference which party is in power. Hence, whoever

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works for his party works disinterestedly, and can seldom afford to give more than a small part of his time to the work. We have in England no paid political workers, except the secretaries of the political associations, and they are paid just the same whether their party is in or out. How different things are in the United States, and what have been the results of the spoils system there, everybody knows. It cannot be doubted that the completeness and effectiveness of the party machine there is largely due to the fact that it commands the service of so great a number of men who have a direct money interest in the success of their party.

Americans who weigh the considerations, and perceive how different are the conditions of politics in the two countries, will not be surprised to find the organization of parties in Great Britain far less perfect than in America. It is also worth remarking that although the main aim of every organization is to win elections, this aim is pursued in different ways in the United States and in Great Britain. In the United States the efforts of those who work are concentrated on the selection of candidates and the getting hold of voters. In Great Britain, on the other hand, while the latter object is supremely important, the selection of candidates has not hitherto demanded great exertions. Much attention has had to be given to the registration ; that is, to seeing that duly qualified voters of one's own side are put upon the voting roll and non-qualified opponents are struck off. Probably we in Great Britain devote relatively more pains to political education, not only by distributing pamphlets and leaflets, but also by arranging meetings and lectures.

In the United States the system is complete and symmetrical from top to bottom. The smallest local area which elects a representative or an executive officer has its party meetings in which each party nominates its candidate, and has also a working committee for conducting the election. So in each voting area forming part of some larger area for which a representative or an executive officer is to be chosen, the party meeting (primary) sends its delegates to the Convention or meeting of persons representing the party in that larger area. This Convention nominates the party candidate and chooses the committee which is to work the election. For every electing area, except the smallest, there is a Convention, from that which nominates candidates for city office or county office up to the gigantic national conventions

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which nominate the party candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the United States. Everybody who sits in a Convention sits as a delegate, that is to say, he has been sent to sit there by the choice of other persons in a primary meeting or in a Convention of a lower degree. Thus the system is strictly representative. It is intended to enable the people themselves to determine the persons for whom votes are to be cast, as well as the managers who are to run the election campaign. And in being representative it has two advantages. It enjoys an authority, that of the people themselves, which no self-constituted body could enjoy, and it enables the primary meeting which chooses the delegates to a Convention to instruct those delegates in favor of the person whom they are to endeavor to get selected as candidate, so as thereby to give effect to the wishes of the party as a whole.

The British system, though far simpler and rougher, is harder to describe, because it varies from place to place, and is still in a fluid state. Till recently we had in Great Britain no regular local party organizations for selecting candidates or for fighting elections. Everything was left either to the central office in London of each of the two great parties, or else to the candidates themselves. Sometimes the central office sent down a candidate, perhaps aiding him with money, to fight a borough. More frequently the candidate himself appeared on the scene, called on the leading men, and, if he saw a fair chance of success, issued his address, hired a committee-room, got some people to act as his committee, but practically worked the election by his agent. If the constituency was a county, it was almost a matter of course that the candidate should own property in the county and reside part of the year there; nor could any one have much chance of success unless he had been approved by the leading country gentlemen belonging to his own party.

Some forty years ago things began to change in the boroughs, and the change has now extended even to the counties, having been greatly accelerated by the Redistribution Act of 1885, which cut the counties up into manageable electoral divisions of (approximately) 8,000 to 15,000 voters each. In every borough there is now a Liberal and a Conservative (or "Constitutional") Association, which is deemed to represent the party for all purposes within the area of the constituency. To it belong the functions (*a*) of looking after the registration, though in practice this

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is often undertaken by the agent of the sitting member on one side and of the prospective candidate on the other; (*b*) of conducting the political education of the voters by holding meetings; and (*c*) of selecting candidates. I do not include the work of fighting the elections, because, when the tug of war comes, the association, or rather its permanent executive committee, usually stands aside to make way for the candidate and his agent and the election committee specially formed for the occasion. As respects the selection of a parliamentary candidate, this is a matter which excites a good deal of interest when the field is vacant—*i. e.*, when the sitting member desires to retire, or when the candidate who fought for the defeated party at the last preceding election does not wish to try his luck again. It is unusual to reject the person actually in possession of the field from the last contest, partly because he is supposed to have an advantage in the fight, as being already known and himself knowing the ways of the place, partly because there is an unwillingness to do anything that savors of discourtesy to one who has established personal relations with the leading local men.

Two instances occurred the other day which illustrate this attitude. In an important borough a sitting Tory member had displeased his party, not by his opinions, but (it would seem) by want of tact. In order to get rid of him the local association had to invite both the members (it was one of our few remaining two-membered constituencies) to retire. Both consented, whereupon the association promptly re-invited one of them whose popularity had never been questioned, leaving the other member out in the cold. In the other case a member who had sat for some fifteen years for a borough had irritated the more advanced section of his party by a backward and, as they thought, too cautious attitude. The party became split up over the question of retaining him at the general election. Few approved of his votes, but there was so general a respect for his character that the officials of the association stuck by him, though many of the rank and file fell away, and set up a Radical candidate against him. Both he and the Radical went to the poll, with the result that a Tory got in, though by a vote little more than half of that which was wasted upon the two contending Liberals.

Such cases, which could scarcely occur in America, show how strong is the aversion to throw over a person who has once

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obtained a hold; and it may be said generally that the renomination of a sitting member is in nine cases out of ten a mere matter of form, and even more so among the Tories than among the Liberals.

When, however, the field is clear, considerable pains are taken to get a suitable person. If there is a good local man—rich, popular, and a ready speaker—he will be preferred. If none such appears, or if he excites the jealousy of some section, then aspirants from without come down to reconnoitre. Frequently a deputation of leading men in the local association goes to the central office in London (whereof more anon) to learn there what available men the party managers have on their books. Probably two or three, possibly four or five, are invited to interview the committee or to address a meeting of the association. When the association has heard them, a vote is taken to decide who shall be adopted. So lately as fifteen years ago it was thought scarcely compatible with the dignity of a man aspiring to sit in Parliament to submit himself in this way to the judgment of the electors, instead of waiting till they had by a requisition invited him to do them the honor of representing them. But all that is changed now, and the dignity of a member of Parliament—or, at least, the old-fashioned conception of it—has vanished. The grounds on which a candidate is selected are much the same in Great Britain and in America. Local influence counts for a good deal, though probably less than two-thirds of the members of the present House of Commons are locally connected with the places they sit for. Character and talent are pretty fairly estimated; wealth is an important factor in constituencies where subscriptions are expected or where a contest is costly. Seldom is a selection complained of as obtained by unfair means; nor do I recollect any instance in which it was even alleged that an aspirant had used money to obtain a nomination.

American readers will ask how the local party associations or their directing councils are constituted, and whether no difficulties are found in securing a fair election of delegates. British practice in these matters is so loose and unsettled that it is not easy to give a view which is at once precise and generally applicable. As a rule, however, anybody who likes can join a Conservative or Liberal Association, a small subscription being in theory expected, but in fact often dispensed with. No proof is required

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that the person joining belongs to the party, beyond his own declaration. If he voted on the other side and professes to have now come round, so much the better; he is welcomed as a convert. Where the system is most regularly arranged, as in Birmingham and those constituencies which have followed the Birmingham pattern, the association is organized by wards, and in every ward a meeting is held annually of the members registered in that ward, at which delegates are chosen to the general council of the association. These meetings are usually thinly attended, and little or no controvery arises over the choice of delegates. Only in those rare cases in which there are two factions supporting the claims of two rival aspirants for the party nomination does each faction beat up its supporters and try to carry its own list of delegates. Even when this happens, one hears no suggestions of foul play. Such as it is, our local caucus machinery is free from any taint of corruption or trickery; and the idea of having to pass statutes in order to secure the fair conduct of primaries and nominating conventions, as it has been found neces sary to do in several American States, would excite amazement in Great Britain, where all party meetings are deemed to be private affairs, and have indeed possessed too little importance to be worth capturing. Were security for their honest management needed, it would be found in the fact that the slightest suspicion either of bullying or of fraud would destroy the credit of the association and its nominee in the eyes of the party generally. As it is, the mass of voters pay no great deference to the association. If a sitting member were to lose his renomination, owing to the intrigues of a rival who had won over the majority of the association's council, he might, if popular with the party as a whole, defy the council and his rival, and he would probably get a larger number of votes at the election. But as such a split would probably involve the loss of the seat to the other party, things scarcely ever go so far. Pressure is put by the leading local men, or perhaps by the central office, upon the rivals, until some compromise is arranged under which one or other aspirant retires from the field.

Often, however, the council of the association is not thus constituted by a regular scheme of ward elections, but is chosen by a general meeting of the association. The strength and authority of a council, howsoever chosen, consist not in its repre-

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sentative character, but in the men that compose it, their zeal, their ability, their local influence, and, to some extent, their wealth also, especially in places where (as in Lancashire) it is the custom for the rich members of the party to subscribe towards the election expenses of a candidate.

One may indeed say that all through our British system the material element prevails over the formal. It is not the rules, but the actual forces, that count. So long as a strong candidate is secured, on whom the party will unite, nobody cares much about the manner in which he has been selected. The complications that arise seldom spring from a disregard of forms, still less from tricks and devices, but from the difficulty of reconciling the claims of various sections of the party. Among the Tories there are seldom sections of opinion; it is the personal jealousies of influential men that give trouble. Among the Liberals, however, the working classes have sometimes been at variance with the wealthier sort, and found the latter reluctant to adopt workingmen as candidates, while occasionally the temperance men have refused to support any candidate who does not go the full length of their programme. Now, however, practically every Liberal candidate goes for restriction of the liquor traffic, and the claims of the workingmen to a substantial representation by members of their own class are generally conceded.

The preceding observations refer to parliamentary candidates only. It is still harder to treat of the choice of candidates for town councils, county councils, and school boards, for our practice is still less settled. In some districts these elections have little to do with the party lines of demarcation. Candidates offer themselves for election on their personal merits and conduct, irrespective of party organizations. In other districts the organization helps the candidate, placing its rooms at his disposal, and furnishing volunteer canvassers. In others, again—and this is a steadily increasing practice—the ward council of the party chooses the ward candidate for a town council, and if the county electoral division happens to have a party association or party council, that association or council will choose the candidate for county counsellor. In the case of towns, however, the association (or its executive committee) for the whole town will usually conduct the election, raising the funds and managing the canvass.

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To complete the above account, it must be added that in the counties, and especially in the agricultural county districts, as opposed to those in which there is a manufacturing or mining population, party organization is less complete than in the towns, and the influence of land owners and large employers of labor is proportionately greater. The rural districts are, in fact, much less democratized than the cities. So, too, party organizations are more perfect in England than in Scotland or Ireland. In Scotland the Liberal party has hitherto enjoyed a marked preponderance. The people are, as a rule, better educated, and the spirit of party, simply as party, has less power than in South Britain. It is a trifling, but significant, illustration of this difference that party colors, universal in England, are little used in Scotch elections. In Ireland, on the other hand, religion creates so strong a line of demarcation that it is hardly worth while to take trouble in building up secular party organizations. In five-sixths of the island the Home Rulers have so overwhelming a majority that they do not really require a system of local councils and committees. In the other sixth, where Roman Catholics and Protestants are pretty evenly balanced, party feeling has lately run so high, and the ministers of religion and the local leaders have been so active, that such a system can be dispensed with. Nowhere in the United Kingdom has so large a proportion of the voters come to the polls as in these Ulster constituencies.

As the account given above refers primarily to the Liberal party, it must be qualified by the remark that among the Conservatives the councils of associations less frequently than among the Liberals purport to be created by the election of delegates, the so-called "Birmingham system" having been rarely adopted; that in many county divisions no regular Conservative associations exist, and that everywhere, though more markedly in the counties than in the towns, the influence of local magnates, peers, landowners, wealthy brewers, or manufacturers is greater among the Tories than among the Liberals. This is partly because such magnates are mostly Tories, partly because the tone of the Tory party is still much less democratic. Yet the tendency is towards a popular and representative organization. Just as the Liberal party has begun to follow, though at a long distance, the American system of organization, so the Tories are following, with steps still slow,

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yet daily quickening, the Liberal model. Wherever there is a substantial Tory party there now exists the germ of a Tory representative caucus. Rough and irregular it may be, for there is often a sort of ring of aristocratic proclivities which selects the candidates and "runs" the party. Yet the ring goes through the form of obtaining the confirmation of some popular body professing to be representative of the rank and file; and, as the influence of the latter increases, so does that of the former decrease. In cities and in thickly populated country districts the popular control is felt and the popular sentiment "placated" by the party leaders. And although the Tory party is still much more docile and more cohesive than its rival, its temper has so largely changed during the last twenty years, that in another twenty years more it may have become as democratic, both in its methods and in its programme, as the Radical party of to-day. Of the two smaller parties—the Irish Nationalists and the "Dissentient" or "Unionist" Liberals—it is hardly necessary to speak, for the phenomena they represent are quite exceptional, and may probably prove transitory.

So far of the local party associations, councils, and committees. It remains to say a word upon those larger party organizations which exist for the country as a whole. There is nothing in Great Britain to correspond to a State Convention or to a State Executive or Campaign Committee, because we have no divisions larger than counties. Both Liberals and Tories have, however, their central offices in London, and each has a sort of confederation of the local party associations, called respectively the "National Liberal Federation" and the "National Union of Conservative Associations." These two bodies have each of them an annual conference, held in some large town, and consisting of delegates sent up by the various local associations. They are the nearest parallel we have to the National Conventions of the United States, but are far less important, because they select no candidate, and, indeed, do no business beyond making speeches and passing resolutions embodying the platform of the party. Such resolutions derive their importance, moreover, not from being passed at these meetings, but from their acceptance by the responsible chiefs of the party: and the value of a conference lies chiefly in the enthusiasm which it is supposed to generate, and in the opportunities which it furnishes to the par-

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liamentary leaders of making the acquaintance of locally influential and zealous members of the party.

The central offices of the parties are charged with a general oversight of party interests, and especially with four duties, the compilation and diffusion of party literature, the raising of funds for party purposes and allotment of them to constituencies where they are needed, the sending down parliamentary orators to public meetings, and the provision of candidates to constituencies which cannot find candidates for themselves. In the case of the Liberal Central Office, which is worked along with the permanent secretariate of the National Liberal Federation, this function of suggesting candidates is sparingly and cautiously exercised, with a careful regard to local susceptibilities. Where the party in a constituency has got a good local man, it is left to itself. It is only when it asks to have candidates suggested for its consideration, or when some local dissension arises which needs to be removed in the interests of party harmony, that it ventures to send a candidate or offer mediation. It has only a moral authority, which it retains by showing tact and impartiality.

A strange idea has got abroad, and been propagated by some who might know better, that these offices, and especially the secretariate of the National Liberal Federation, are the seats of a secret and despotic power, which holds all the local associations in thralldom, nominates its own candidates over the whole country, frames the programme of the party, and compels every candidate to swallow it; and, to use a colloquial expression, "bosses" the party at large. No conception could be more absolutely wide of the truth. Neither candidates nor local associations are in any way dependent on or subservient to this so-called "Liberal Caucus." The candidate has to reckon with his party in the constituency, and with them only; the local party is master of its own organization, and that organization need have nothing to do with the central office unless it pleases. What really binds the party together is their attachment to the leader, zeal for certain party principles or party proposals, and that indefinable thing we call party spirit. The same remark holds generally true of the Tories also, save that the Tory party is far more influenced by its peers and other magnates. Its structure is more oligarchic, and it is, therefore, a more compact and well-drilled fighting force, in proportion to its numbers.

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Both our great British parties profess to be dissatisfied with their organizations; both exhort their followers to stricter discipline, as well as to more active coöperation in local political work. So far as party associations and clubs tend to stimulate a knowledge of politics and honest thinking about them, they do good; and it is also a gain that when an election arrives the greatest possible number of voters should be brought to the polls. Nor does there seem to be danger that Great Britain will see, as the United States has seen, selfish rings in cities gaining the control of the party machinery and working it to their own sinister purposes, because we have a permanent civil service, and scarcely any paid offices conferred by direct popular vote. It is personal pecuniary interest, rather than political passion, that makes the party machine so dangerous in free governments.

Nevertheless it may be doubted whether British politics will gain by that more elaborate and effective organization of party forces which has been in progress among us and seems destined to grow still further in strength. Party is, after all, only a means to an end, and must not be suffered to become an end in itself; while the attempt to drill a party too rigidly has sometimes the effect of driving independent men out of political work altogether. There is, moreover, a sense in which it may truly be said that the more of party organization the less of the free play of public opinion. It is desirable that there should be in the country a large proportion of persons who, while watching politics intelligently and alive to the duty of voting at every election, are not so blindly attached either to their chiefs, or to their party traditions and prejudices, as to be unable to deal at each election with both parties on the merits, throwing their weight on this side or on that according to the character of the leaders as well as to the nature of the issues involved. Nothing else keeps the parties in order.

It is no small gain to the government of a great state that the judgment pronounced by the nation at a general election should be a broad and decisive judgment, expressed in a strong majority for one or other policy and party. And this result is more apt to be secured when there remains a large number of those who, looking to principles and performance, refuse to be dominated by mere party machinery.

JAMES BRYCE.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

FARM AND HOME PROPRIETORSHIP.

HOME-OWNING in the United States is the subject of investigation by the Eleventh Census, and the results already published are sufficient to indicate the extent to which it prevails, and whether it is increasing or diminishing in relation to the growth of population. The family is adopted as the statistical unit, and each family is accounted for as cultivating a farm, or as occupying a home not on a farm, and, again, as hiring or as owning the farm or home.

Of the farm families in the District of Columbia, 37.47 per cent. hire the farms they cultivate; in Georgia, 58.10 per cent.; In Iowa, 29.57 per cent.; in Maine, 7.62 per cent.; in Maryland, 37.23 per cent.; in Massachusetts, 15.06 per cent.; in Montana, 13.40 per cent.; and in New Jersey, 32.11 per cent.

Statistics in similar form for home families show that 74.80 per cent. of the total number of home families in the District of Columbia hire the homes that they occupy; 79.00 per cent. in Georgia; 44.96 per cent. in Iowa; 51.98 per cent. in Maine; 68.13 per cent. in Maryland; 67.23 per cent. in Massachusetts; 56.30 per cent. in Montana; and 68.07 per cent. in New Jersey.

The foregoing percentages permit the inference that more than one-half of the families of the United States, and in the South and East two-thirds of the families, are landless. It is improbable that a considerable proportion of the tenants of farms and homes own any land. Upon combining the farm and home tenant families, it is found that they are 68.57 per cent. of the total number of families in Georgia; 36.82 per cent. in Iowa; 33.65 per cent. in Maine; 61.81 per cent. in Maryland; 63.51 per cent. in Massachusetts; 46.25 per cent. in Montana; and 64.34 per cent. in New Jersey. That is to say, the landless families in these States are proportions of the total number of families probably not much less than the percentages immediately preceding.

The first statistics of farm tenure in the United States are contained in the census report on agriculture for 1880. The unit was the farm and not the farm family, as in the investigation of farm and home proprietorship in 1890, but the difference does not prevent a reasonably safe comparison. In all these States farm tenancy has proportionately increased, the greatest increase being from 44.85 to 58.10 per cent. in Georgia, and the least from 4.32 to 7.62 per cent. in Maine. The explanations of this increase will have a wide range. On the one hand it will be said that the tariff, the gold standard of value, the growth of natural and artificial monopolies and a relative increase of the poorer class, are responsible for this result; and on the other hand that it is a result of the superior inducements of trade, manufactures, the professions and town life, a reaction from a low cultivation of large farms, the unwillingness of women to do farm housework, and partly the effect of agricultural over-production.

Statistics do not show the previous condition of the tenants, but from

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observation it may be said that in the South most of them were formerly slaves and that in other parts of the country they are partly farmers who have been reduced from ownership and partly former farm-laborers who worked for wages and have since been elevated to tenant proprietorship.

No statistics of home proprietorship in this country have ever been published, except for Boston in 1845; but a tendency towards tenancy is indicated by the figures for 1890. In all the States named there is a larger percentage of home tenancy in the towns and cities having a population of 8,000 people and over, than in the remainder of each State. Since the first census in 1790 there has been an increasing proportion of the population in such towns and cities from census to census; this population was 3.35 per cent. of the total population in 1790; 12.49 per cent. in 1850; 29.20 per cent. in 1890.

The percentage of this population is now regarded as one that will increase for a long time in the future, and, since home-owning is much less prevalent in towns and cities of 8,000 people and over than it is outside of these towns and cities, there is a strong force at work throughout the country against home-owning, and the increase of home-owning outside of cities of 8,000 people and over must be sufficient to balance this if home tenancy through the country at large is not to increase. The increase in the proportion of home-owning required for this balancing is not too great to be impossible.

If we take Massachusetts, the most densely-populated State in the Union, and allow for 1880 the proportions of home-hiring families in towns and cities of 8,000 people and over and in the State at large that are found in 1890, the percentage of home-hiring families outside of such towns and cities must have been almost exactly 60 in 1880; in 1890 the percentage was 56, so that the degree of home tenancy in the whole State need not have diminished in 1890 if we allow a decrease in home tenancy from 60 to 54 per cent. within the decade outside of the class of towns and cities described.

In Boston, where the only positive evidence of home-owning tendency can be found, 76.71 per cent. of the total number of home families hired their homes in 1845 and 81.57 per cent. in 1890. But, owing to railroad accommodations, the Boston of the present time properly includes the remainder of Suffolk County and many neighboring towns and cities whose population nearly equals that of Boston itself and whose proportion of home tenancy is less than is found in that city, so that if the figures of home proprietorship were obtainable for a region, say, within a radius of 10 or 12 miles from the State House, it is quite certain that they would show a proportion of home tenancy no greater than was discovered in Boston in 1845.

Nevertheless, the home tenancy in cities will be regarded as excessively large. Among the 101 towns and cities with a population of more than 8,000 in these States, including the District of Columbia, Clinton, Ia., with a population of 13,619, has the smallest proportion of tenancy, namely, 37.85 per cent., and Hoboken, N. J., containing 43,648 people, has the greatest—88.11 per cent. Boston, with a population of 448,477, has 81.57 per cent.; Baltimore, with 434,439 people, has 73.94 per cent.; Jersey City, whose population is 163,003, has 81.20 per cent.; and in Newark, with 181,830 people, 77.98 per cent. of the families hire their homes. City life everywhere seems to lead to relatively low proportions of home-owning families, although to no great extent in the South.

The increase of farm and home tenancy, if increase of home tenancy may

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be admitted, is not due to any obstacles placed by law or custom in the way of the purchase of real estate. It is easy enough to buy real estate if one has the desire and the means. The real-estate market, even in the older communities, is active according to the demand. In Hampden County, Massachusetts, containing Springfield and Holyoke, for example, there were 3,312 transfers of real estate in 1889, or one to 8.93 families of the county's population in 1890. During the 10 years 1880–'89 there were 24,327 transfers of real estate, or one to 1.03 of the families of the population of 1885.

The popularly assumed effects of the building and loan association movement on home-owning are hardly apparent in the statistics published by the Census Office. In Philadelphia, where the building and loan associations have reached the limit of their business, 77.24 per cent. of the home families are tenants, and in Hamilton County, Ohio, containing Cincinnati, where a large business is done by these associations, 78.05 per cent. of the home families hire their homes, or a proportion less than will be found in Chicago.

In comparing the two classes of owning and hiring families with each other, it may be that the units are unlike. In counting an owned against a hired home, it may be that greater weight in the comparison is given to the owned cabin of the negro laborer than to the vastly more comfortable and pretentious hired dwelling of the merchant or lawyer. The families in a State in which the proportion of hiring families is great may be much more happily situated than the families in a State where the proportion is much less. Even if the values of the farms and homes occupied by the two classes of families were known, still there might be the qualification that, notwithstanding values, residence in hired homes in some regions is accompanied by greater welfare and happiness than are found in owned homes in other regions.

In other respects, also, these statistics somewhat misrepresent the people in regard to welfare and social condition. It does not follow that a tenant family, because of tenancy, is not well cared for and in the receipt of an income sufficient for comfort and even many enjoyments and luxuries. Nor does it follow that a tenant family is unable to own a home, especially under mortgage, because of poverty, although this may be the inference in the case of the farm hiring-families.

The ownership of a home hinders migration, and civilization has not yet proceeded far enough to do away with migration as a means of bettering one's condition. To the workingman home-owning may often be a positive disadvantage in his dealings with his employers, or in the event of better inducements offered in another town. Generally, real estate is not readily sold without sacrifice and if he owns his home he will not readily migrate. A workingman may find himself out of employment at any time and, if he owns his home under mortgage, he may be unable to pay the interest when due and so lose some of his savings through foreclosure. The want of permanent local interests, the uncertainties of employment, of new undertakings in trade, and of ventures in a thousand and one directions, forbid men to own their homes.

Yet, after all else has been said, poverty undoubtedly plays an important, perhaps a chief part, as a cause of tenancy; and it is doubtful whether our traditional dislike of tenancy will permit us to regard its increase among those who are financially able to own their homes, but are unwilling to do so on account of new conditions of life, as altogether desirable.

GEORGE K. HOLMES.

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AN UNCUT DIAMOND.

WE WERE talking of the slight put upon education by the World's Fair Commission. My interlocutor was a handsome, keen, prosperous-looking man in middle life, with a huge diamond in his by no means irreproachable shirt bosom, and another almost as large on his little finger. He defended the Commission, and expressed the opinion that the advantages of education in general were greatly over-estimated.

"Look at *me*, sir," he said. "I am a self-made man. I never had but three months' 'schoolin' in my life, and just see where I stand to-day!"

Good taste aside, there certainly was ample foundation for his boastful words and his still more boastful manner. He had been an alderman in his native city for "five years runnin'," and he was now its mayor. He had begun his business life as an errand boy in "a glass works," and was now, as he informed me, the proud owner of a quarter of a million of dollars. Men who had graduated from the best schools, including the university, came to him for his advice and "inflooence."

"Pretty good that, for a man who never saw the inside of a college—eh?"

"It certainly does great credit to your native sagacity, industry, and push," I replied.

"Yes, sir, I suppose we must admit that. Education is a good thing, no doubt, a very good thing; but you see it ain't absolutely necessary to success in life. I done without it, and I have got along fairly well."

"Yes, Mr. Mayor, you have got along more than fairly well. Judged by the usual standards, you have succeeded far better than the great majority of men who have been through the schools."

What more I actually said does not matter. I might have said: But your boast that you have had only "three months' schoolin'" is not true. You have been to school all your life. The rays that emanate from the lamps of learning are not imprisoned within the four walls of the school-house. They shine through the windows and doors. Every man and every woman who graduates from the schools is a torch-bearer, and you have been more or less enlightened by the universal flood of light, although you may have borne no torch yourself.

You are no more "self-made" than the most erudite son of Harvard or Yale. If he is made at all it has been as truly through his own intelligence, energy, industry, and push, as your own making has been through the qualities of which you boast so offensively. Every educated man with whom you have talked, every public speaker you have heard, has been your school-master; every newspaper you have read, your text-book; every position you have occupied, your class-room. The scholar in the school, the student in the college, is no more the passive recipient of his instruction than you are the passive recipient of yours. Walking in the flood of light which has everywhere surrounded you, how could you help being enlightened if you are capable of enlightenment? Many are not thus capable, and these the schools will help no more than the lighted torch will help the blind man. You are no more independent of the school house, Mr. Mayor, than the man who has spent all the days of his youth there. Though you might never have crossed its threshold, yet it is the principal and original cause of the difference between you and the savage chief in the wilderness.

You say you "done without education and have got along fairly well." As I have shown, you have *not* done without it. The only things

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it has lacked in your case are the system, symmetry, and thoroughness which actual attendance at the schools might have given it.

And now let us see what these might have done for you.

You pass for a man of thorough information and logical thought only among men of your own or of inferior grade, and it is only because these are in such a majority in your city that you hold so high a place in the general estimation. Among your intellectual superiors you are known for the shrewd, forceful, successful, but comparatively shallow man you really are.

You might not have been wealthier than you are, perhaps not so wealthy; but you would have got more from your wealth. The richly-bound books in your library would have been an intellectual thesaurus to you, instead of a mere household decoration. In all probability you would not have hung those travesties of art which you call paintings on your walls for your more cultivated visitors to laugh at. It is not likely that you would now be wearing those hideous diamonds (the beautiful may become hideous when out of place), and your still more incongruous vulgarisms of speech and behavior would not constantly excite the contemptuous wonder of those into whose society your "success in life" has lifted you. It is probable, too, that if your more refined taste had not toned down your aggressive vanity and egotism, it would at least have prevented their offensive exhibition on all occasions.

Even if I could convince you of the truth of all this, it might seem to you of little importance, compared with the great facts of your wealth and achievements. But these very facts are an injury to the community in which you live, for they lower the standard of civilization, which does not depend upon wealth alone nor upon the holding of office. Magnify your vanity, boastfulness, vulgar display, ignorance, and contempt for education sufficiently, *i. e.*, nullify what the common school has indirectly, if not directly, done for you, and you become brother to the Ashantee chief.

Do you think education might have lessened your energy and push? Unlike the blazing jewel in your soiled shirt bosom, the human diamond is not diminished but rather increased in weight by proper cutting.

EDWARD P. JACKSON.

STUDENTS AS SHOWMEN.

"PERMISSION has been given to the Glee Club, Banjo Club, and Guitar and Mandolin Club to make a trip through the West during the Christmas recess, similar to that made two winters ago by the two former organizations. . . . . Concerts will be given in New York, December 23; Chicago, December 26; St. Louis, December 27; Cincinnati, December 29; Washington, December 31, and Philadelphia, January 1."

This tour, the announcement of which is taken from a college periodical (*Harvard Monthly*), is an example of a comparatively new feature of student life in this country. In this instance a company of a score or more young men travelled some three thousand miles, and gave six musical performances within ten days. Taking all the colleges together, it is probably not far from the truth to say that several hundred students now spend the whole or a part of their winter recess in a similar manner. The object of these tours, in which sometimes concerts and sometimes dramatic or minstrel performances are given, is various. Very often, however, if I am not mistaken, the surplus receipts, if there are any, after the expenses are paid, are bestowed upon some college institution. It is in this respect alone, and in the fact

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that the students are amateurs and not professionals, that they differ from any travelling theatrical or musical company or other purveyors to the public entertainment.

I have sought diligently for arguments in favor of these tours and can find at least four. They furnish an absolute change from the routine of college life, and a welcome relief from study. They enable the students to see different parts of the country without expense to themselves. The college of which they are members is advertised; and some money may be obtained. If there are still other arguments in their favor, and I am quite ready to believe there are, I have not been able to discover them. My uncertainty arises from the fact that these advantages derived from these tours seem to me utterly insufficient to outweigh the numerous and obvious objections to them. And, accordingly, I am at a loss to know why, notwithstanding these objections, they are permitted by college faculties and by parents.

For, to take only the least of these objections, they are completely subversive of the objects for which the holiday is intended. These, of course, are that the student may have a respite from his studies and for a short time come under the humanizing influences of his family, so that he may return to his work with a fresh zest for it and with greater strength to resist the manifold temptations of college life.

But in what condition must the students, in the case referred to above and in all similar cases, have necessarily come back to their studies after their holiday trip. The college term closed on December 23. That night they gave a concert in New York. Term began again on January 2. The night before there was a performance in Philadelphia. During the intervening eight days they appeared in four cities at great distances apart, so that almost the whole of the time, including Sunday, not given to their concerts, must have been spent upon the road. It would require weeks at the very least for young men but barely passed boyhood to recover from the physical exhaustion and nervous strain incident on such a journey. Jaded and wearied in body they would necessarily resume their college duties in a far more unfit condition than if they had had no respite from them.

Of their mental condition I cannot speak so positively. There can be no question, however, that so far as diversity of occupation is concerned, this end is completely gained. Nothing more foreign to the true collegiate life can well be imagined than the life of a touring actor or musician. Nor can there be less doubt of the attractiveness to most young men of this wandering life, of the repeated appearances before the footlights, of the efforts to win applause and the intoxicating influence of the applause when won. Can any one believe that the young student who has experienced all this, though only for a brief period, will bring back to his books a "quiet mind" and a fresh impetus for study? Will he not, on the contrary, return to his work with a restless spirit and with his natural desire for continuous excitement greatly inflamed? Will not the restraints of college duties be more irksome than before and his books less welcome companions?

But this jaded bodily state, and mind all unattuned to its true work, may not, to my thinking, be the worst that can befall these young men, who spend their vacation in this manner. I do not now refer to the peculiar temptations which will surely come to them under such circumstances—temptations the harder to resist since they are voluntarily met. Nor do I have in mind their loss who, not once only, but twice or thrice it may be,

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give up the pleasures of home at the most gracious season of the year on such an errand. But this travelling about the country as hired entertainers of the public imperils something more than the duties of a few weeks of a college term—may have a more enduring influence than temporarily exhausted strength and a mind out of harmony with its true self. The strength will come again; the mind can shake off these disturbing impressions. There is grave danger, however, that an impression may be made which will prove indelible—that something may be lost which can never be recovered. It is not impossible that the whole current of a young man's thoughts and ambitions may be permanently diverted into new and less worthy channels through this experience.

Something may be lost which it is hard to describe or define, but which seems to me to be essential to the true gentleman. Refinement, delicacy of feeling, dignity, shrinking from publicity, unwillingness to make one's self common; all these things, which are so gracious and so necessary, are gravely imperilled by the young collegians who go from city to city exhibiting themselves and their mediocre ability to play or sing or act—for money. I would not be understood to say that the public performance is necessarily in itself an ungentlemanly thing. It is the motive, the end sought, which stamps upon an action its character of gentlemanliness or vulgarity.

Those Oxford students who, a few years ago, under the stimulating influence of Ruskin's teaching, went out to build roads, were by so doing tenfold better gentlemen, notwithstanding they were doing "navvies'" work. The principle which inspired them ennobled their rude toil. But these wandering musicians and actors of whom we are writing have no such motive. No elevating principle spurs them on to endure such sacrifice of ease. The ignoblest of motives is theirs. In a word, they make themselves common or vulgar—for pay.

It is difficult for me to conceive what further advance can be made in the direction of taking the student out of his own proper sphere and putting him in one totally foreign to it. Thirty years ago many of our colleges arranged their winter terms and vacations in such a way as to permit the poorer students to teach school. Rough, unkempt, many of these men were, but they were full of zeal for knowledge, and gladly endured the privations and hardships of some backwoods district for a meagre sum—enough, however, to enable them to win their way to a degree. But in these days we have improved on that laborious and self-denying method of making money. Instead of the hard-working teacher strengthening brain and intellectual power by his toil, gaining invaluable lessons of self control and developing the capacity for imparting knowledge and for the government of others, and so fitting himself for the highest positions in life, we have the peripatetic amateur minstrel or actor winning his dollars on the stage and preparing himself, at the best, for a useless future in which "having a good time" will be the ruling motive.

Does this contrast represent in truth a changed condition of college feeling and sentiment, and are we to go still farther away from the old ideals, to lower still more the standard of what a student can do and remain a gentleman? Must we look forward to the time when ladies' orchestras and amateur ballet-troupes from the Harvard Annex or Wellesley College shall vie with the student minstrels as amusers of the public? Or is this but a passing and regrettable phase of these last decades of the nineteenth century, upon which another generation will look back with a mingled feel

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ing of amusement and contempt. The remedy is a simple one. If parents will forbid their sons to join these musical and dramatic clubs except on the express condition that no public performances of this character shall be given for money, we shall hear no more of these highly objectionable tours.

JAMES M. HUBBARD.

CAMPAIGNING IN THE WEST.

NO ONE could take an active part upon the stump in such a campaign as that of 1892, and not come out of it with an increased respect for the good faith and excellent sense of the multitudes who attend our political meetings.

It is more evident now than it ever was before that the people insist upon the best kind of speaking. Political orators never make a greater mistake than when they count upon clap-trap as a means of influencing votes. Of course there are exceptions. The question of the politics of Mr. Frick in the last campaign is an instance. The feelings aroused among some of our Irish fellow-citizens by criticisms on Patrick Egan is another instance. But in the long run it is seldom that the strongest weapons are found in appeals of this description.

The professional story-teller is at a discount. An apt illustration is always in place and it ought to be, but a speaker who goes through the country to day telling of the Republican pup which has its eyes open and the Democratic pup which has its eyes closed will not win votes, even if he gets the whoops and plaudits of the boys and torch-bearers in his audience. Most disastrous of all is the abusive speaker, the man who insists that all Republicans are boodlers or that all Democrats are imps of hell. Personalities, unless they be the mere recital of clearly-proved facts in the political records of the men assailed, are most unfortunate. Vituperative epithets are worse than useless. The facts must speak for themselves. There has been a great deal of satire written and believed regarding the absurd arguments which have sometimes succeeded in influencing the verdict of a jury in a trial at law or in influencing the judgment of the multitude in the trial of political issues. Undoubtedly personal, local and political prejudices cannot be ignored, but with the spread of general intelligence these factors become constantly of less account. Political speakers often think that they have to descend to the comprehension of their hearers, when, in point of fact, the good sense of the men who listen is quite as great as that of the man who addresses them.

Of course it is always wise to speak plainly. The thoughts which are clothed in simple phrase appeal best not only to the ignorant but to men of culture. The colloquial style conforms best, not merely to the demands of the unlearned, but to the highest standards. But the time is past when mere declamation, noise and fustian are of any value. It is the things you have to say, not the language in which these things are clothed, which is the important matter.

A man who believes that the shouts of his auditors indicate the success of his argument is greatly deceived. I once heard Senator Sherman in a speech at the Grand Opera House in my own town. His arguments were clear and convincing, but not striking or sensational. Those who heard him listened with attention, but were not demonstrative. He was followed by a so-called "Irish orator," who told a great number of common-place stories, which were uproariously applauded. The latter undoubtedly left the

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town with the idea that he had made a much greater hit than Mr. Sherman. He was never more mistaken. Close attention is always a better standard of the value of the thing said than any amount of noise.

I have been surprised at the ease with which plain, uneducated people appreciate even abstruse economic problems where they are stated with reasonable clearness. And there is not much difference in the classes that constitute the audiences nor the neighborhood from which they come. An assembly of plain-looking Indiana farmers and mechanics understands these things about as well as the choicest assemblies from the environs of Boston or New York. Indeed, in the matter of political education, I am of opinion that the citizens of Indiana are rather in advance of those of the Atlantic seaboard. The Eastern man has more of that which is technically labelled culture. He will notice more critically a fault in grammar or a sentence badly turned. The Western man goes beneath the form and considers little but the thought which it expresses. He has broader and, I think, juster views of life and of political perspective.

As one who has spent half his life in each section, I am satisfied that the East knows much less of the West than we do of our Eastern brethren. Chicago has never yet been thoroughly understood by New York, which thought, for instance, that our Columbian Exposition, when Chicago won the prize, would be nothing but a country fair. The Chicago man has a better knowledge of New York. He knows less of books, but he has seen more of life and of the world. There is the same difference between Europe and America. We know more of the Old World than it knows of us.

Another characteristic of a political campaign in the West is its enthusiasm and heartiness. The New Englander goes to bed at a certain fixed hour. No matter how important the question or how eloquent the speech, he cannot be counted upon to remain in the hall much after bedtime. During the last campaign in New England there were often two or three speakers at each meeting, sometimes four or five, and these men had to divide as evenly as possible the scant two hours allotted. In Indiana a single speaker generally consumes the entire time, and most of his hearers will listen in quiet attention until midnight, if necessary. Indeed, a public speaker who stints them with an hour's speech will often be regarded in the light of the tradesman who gives short measure. They are entitled to an hour and a half or two hours of it, and the speaker has no right to defraud the men who come to hear him.

In the East, the audience is perhaps more enthusiastic in the matter of applause than in the West. In Indiana, men will sit during an entire afternoon or evening with little demonstration, but when the speaker closes they throng around him to shake hands and congratulate him, and tell him how much good he has done. The stump speaker, for the time being, is like a governor, a congressman or a president. His hearers come up in long lines and press his knuckles almost out of joint. The men of his own party in the town where he goes take every care that his meeting shall be a success. There is great heartiness in the hospitality of these Western audiences.

A few weeks ago I spoke in a small country town in the southern part of Indiana. A great multitude from the surrounding country attended. There were two saloons in the place and upon that day each of them might have counted upon doing the business of a whole average month. Yet the meeting was on behalf of their party. It must not be disgraced by an orgy, so each

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of these saloon keepers locked his doors, barricaded them from the inside and remained within until the meeting was over to prevent intoxication at the "rally."

Out-of-door meetings are much more common in the West than along the Atlantic seaboard. The last campaign was a very quiet one and these meetings were more infrequent everywhere than usual. But generally they have been very common in States where the facilities for indoor meetings are entirely inadequate. There are few halls large enough to contain the thousands who assemble at these great political demonstrations, and the only way to accommodate the multitude is to erect a small platform somewhere in the woods and to procure a supply of planks from a neighboring lumber yard, which are placed upon beams or blocks of wood, and will thus seat an unlimited number of auditors. Those who come in carriages form a circle on the outside, while, still beyond, side shows attract all those who do not care to hear the speaking. There is generally a glee club to begin the entertainment, and sometimes a song or two afterwards closes the meeting.

It is, of course, much harder to talk in the open air than in a hall, and with a stiff breeze blowing, the lung power of the speaker is tested to the utmost. The avenues of escape and the attractions from the outside are much greater, and the audience will continually change, many leaving, others taking their places. Even a moderate-sized hall will often contain as many auditors as those who remain within hearing from the beginning to the end of a great "rally," so that these out-door meetings are less valuable for educational purposes than much smaller gatherings within doors. They are chiefly important for the "demonstration," the size and impressiveness of the parade, the show wagons filled with gaily dressed maidens, goddesses of liberty, etc., and uniformed clubs. We may congratulate ourselves that these methods seem to be going out of use.

The wear and tear of a campaign are very great. To speak each day to a multitude in the open air for two hours, then to travel perhaps twenty miles across the country and talk for two hours more at night in an adjacent county town strains the strength and vitality of any man. Yet those who can husband their resources, and can so arrange their appointments as to secure a good night's sleep (a thing not always possible), will sometimes come out of a campaign in better condition than when they enter it.

After two or three speeches have been carefully prepared at the outset of a campaign they may be varied and repeated indefinitely, and the intellectual exhaustion is not great. The hardest strain is in the few cases where the addresses are reported in full. Then the speaker must prepare a new one each day, and after a week or two of such a drain the brain of the most fertile speaker will be exhausted and he must seek a respite.

Where two or more men speak at a single meeting, they are expected to divide the time as equitably as possible. But this is not always done. The first speaker sometimes becomes so deeply engrossed in his subject that he takes no note of the lapse of his allotted hour, and he often leaves to his companion little more than the meagre remnants of the time and sometimes of the audience. There are few men so patriotic that they will stand the frequent repetition of this treatment with anything more than superficial equanimity.

WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE.

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